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THE HAT CRUSADE

VOL. III.

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# THE HAT CRUSADE.

BY  
SAMUEL FOX (since deceased),  
EDWARD PICKARD and  
EDWIN TREGELLES.

VOL. III.

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“All public assemblies must be made to admit intelligence, and  
not allowed to snuff it out.”—p. 182.

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Printed and Published by Edward Pickard, at High Street,  
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### PREFACE TO VOL. III.

SEVERAL slight errors in this volume have escaped detection until after printing. On p. 55, half way down, read 1896, instead of 1897. For Sismundi, in two places (pp. 140 and 141), read Sismondi. On p. 165, for Mostyn, read Moslyn. One mistake of more consequence occurs on p. 117, half way down, where, for "in this century," read "in this generation." Some will probably have wondered why the first volume of "The Hat Crusade" has been charged twice as much as the second. The fact is that the labour involved in its production fully justified a charge of 5s. ; whereas the subsequent volumes have been produced at a considerably less cost, though equal if not superior in workmanship. Now, however, that the three volumes are completed, it seems advisable to make them a uniform price; and therefore from this date Vol. I will be 2s 6d., instead of 5s. as heretofore.

Edward Pickard.

Edwin Tregelles.

Lest there should be any misapprehension in the matter, it is right to state, that, though for a time I was unwilling to take my full share in the responsibilities of the Hat Crusade, in consequence of which my name could not appear on the title page of the two previous volumes, it was not from a want of seeing the truth of their contents. As my name appears on the title page of this volume, it is right to add, that I now accept my share of the responsibility for the other two. Edwin Tregelles.

Flushing ; 25, Eleventh, 1897.





# THE HAT CRUSADE.

VOL. III.

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SOON after returning to Mawes from Portscatho, it became evident that if Fox was to live through another winter he must find a more suitable residence. The house was so placed that the sun did not shine into the windows, whilst it was difficult to get fresh air without exposure to the wind; so that, bracing and healthy as Mawes is, it was not suited to Fox's very susceptible condition. Besides this, the house was not roomy enough for printing, for which things were now in readiness. Noticing some houses to let advertised in the papers, Pickard went to Liskeard, Looe, and Fowey, but without finding anything suitable. Having to spend a night at Looe, and observing that an evening performance was on in the Parish House, he went in and wore his hat throughout, no one interfering with him. The vicar read portions from a book by the present Bishop of Wakefield to a meagre audience. A few days after this, all three went over to Flushing, and discovered a house there that answered their requirements. Arrangements were promptly made, and the Crusaders and their belongings were safely carried across the harbour to their new home. Flushing, being entirely sheltered from the East and North winds, exceeds in mildness of climate the general mildness of Cornwall; and here for some months Fox was able both to walk and to sit out of doors. After considerable difficulty a second-hand printing machine was procured of one of the best makers, and possessing the latest improvements, large enough to print two pages at a time. This, with some new type and a few other accessories, besides those that Fox already possessed, enabled Pickard and Tregelles to get to work upon the printing of "The Hat Crusade."

It is now necessary to go back somewhat in the narrative, in order to give a consecutive account of the attempt referred to

in Vol. II to deprive Samuel Fox of his membership in the Society of Friends. It should be mentioned at the outset that Fox, in coming to Cornwall, and then settling near Falmouth, on account of the mildness of the climate, was, without any special wish to do so, not only coming into close quarters with a number of his relations of the Fox family, but making his home within sight of the town where his grandfather and great-grandfather had been medical practitioners, where his father had spent his youth, and where his grandfather, holding the office of mayor at the time of the Queen's visit, had, notwithstanding the opposing pressure brought to bear upon him by his fellow townsmen, been faithful to his Quaker principles in his public position so far as to retain his hat before the Queen. But Fox had come to Mawes with a very different object from that of meeting his Falmouth relations, and it was over a matter of business, the purchase of ironmongery, that he first came in contact with them, in the person of his uncle Nathaniel Fox. In a letter about an oil stove, N.F. having referred to the fact of their relationship, Fox replied as follows:—

“Mawes; 3, Eleven, '94.

“To Nathaniel Fox.

“Oh, a relation? H'm, I had 'most forgotten it—Uncle and so forth—I'll tell thee my idea of relationship, which being extra special, please don't forget it; but bear it in mind in all thy relations with the world:—All the good people are related, irrespective of uncles, aunts and cousins (which is quite immaterial), to one another; and all the bad people are similarly related to each other. So, if thou art good enough to be a relation of mine, or I to be a relation of thine, we may yet meet together, on that footing. If not, not....”

Not long after this, Fox and Pickard being in his shop making some purchases, N.F. invited them upstairs to dine with his family. But it was not until the Spring of 1895 that any further relations with Falmouth “Friends” occurred. This time N.F., in his capacity of Clerk to the Monthly Meeting of West Cornwall, wrote Fox stating that the Birmingham Friends had forwarded his certificate of membership in the Society to Falmouth, and that John Stephens and himself were appointed to visit him in the usual course on its receipt. Fox in his reply (16, Fourth, '95) wrote:—“I am not at all sorry to be shifted on from Birmingham Monthly Meeting, as I particularly requested from the first not to be made a particular member there, and wrote to the clerk of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting [of which he had been a member from birth until going to Birmingham] to get him not to forward the certificate on. I had no intention to stay long in such a place as Birmingham. But here it is different.”



The visit to Mawes was paid, both J.S. and N.F. appearing friendly, and Pickard and Tregelles expressing their wish to have their certificates forwarded likewise to Falmouth, from Leeds and Darlington respectively. Fox was asked whether he had any expectation of attending Falmouth meetings, to which he replied, waiving the matter of his health which was evidently sufficient in itself to prevent his doing so, "No; I should not do you any good; and you would not do me any good," adding that he did not wish to cause them any trouble.

After a month had elapsed, and no news of the Falmouth "Friends'" decision had been received, Fox wrote N.F. in reference to the following cutting from the *Oxford Chronicle* on which he wanted further information:—

"A RECTOR AND HIS RATE.—The dining-room suite of Alderman G. W. Fox, a Quaker, has been seized by the Rector of Falmouth, under a writ for refusal to pay rector's rate to the amount of £20, to which £6 or £7 will be added for costs. As other people are two or three years in arrear from a similar conscientious refusal, the case is creating great excitement. Falmouth is about tired of the Rector's rate imposed under the sainted Charles II., and Alderman Fox's action will give a powerful stimulus to the agitation against it."

—*Oxford Chronicle*; June 17, 1893.

He took the opportunity also to inquire what decision had been come to respecting his certificate, as will be seen in the letter:—

"Mawes, 20, Fifth, '95.

"To Nathaniel Fox.

"We have a cutting from an oldish newspaper here giving an account under date June 17, 1893 of Alderman G. W. Fox with reference to the rector's rate. It states moreover that this case is viewed with much interest in the district on account of others being similarly in the position for some years past of refusing to pay said rates, on conscientious grounds, and that this case of Alderman Fox would be regarded as a test case.

"Please say how it ended, and whether the initials of this (unknown) cousin I suppose, are G. W. or G. H. or what. We don't see any G. W. down in the list of Aldermen, but perhaps he may have 'rotated' since then into some other sphere. Did the beggars take his furniture, or what? Perhaps I ought to call them thieves.

"I hope by this time that my connection with Birmingham is severed. The Birmingham 'Friends' most of them have no good will for me. They interfered with me when I was at Charlbury, and as might be supposed it caused a 'row.' (A man will stick up for his principles, if he has any; though he may not always for himself.) If they interfere with me again it will

probably cause a still greater 'row.' Now, you don't like 'rows,' I suppose, not having heard to the contrary; it would therefore be the better for all parties if I were a member among you. Birmingham is the Centre of the Adult School movement; and how such people should pretend to understand the work which Friends were raised up to do—is not clear. Anyway they *don't* understand it. S. Fox."

To the questions of this letter N.F.'s reply was as follows:—

"Falmouth; 21, 5, '95.

"Dear Samuel,

"The name should be G. H. Fox. His furniture was taken for the Rector's rate, but it is ancient history now.

"With regard to your membership. Our meeting decided to return your certificate to Birmingham, not out of any ill will to you but in the carrying out of a line of conduct which has been adopted with us for some time with reference to members who are non-resident—and under which they could not see their way to accept such as are not 'in touch' (to use a current expression) with them. I think I may say that there was a very kindly feeling evinced towards you personally...."

On receipt of this information, Fox drew up a letter to the West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, which he promptly despatched to N.F. as Clerk. The latter wrote saying: "I cannot help feeling that you do yourself an injustice in the manner and matter of the letter you sent me, which I shall have to lay before the meeting next week (11th.). Won't you reconsider it?" Fox replied: "Re Monthly Meeting. I have counted the cost, and find I have wherewith to pay the reckoning." The following is the letter:—

"Mawes, near Falmouth,  
24, Fifth, '95.

"To West Cornwall Monthly Meeting.

"In reply to a letter from myself inquiring for information about G. H. Fox and the rector's rate, and stating—'I hope by this time that my connection with Birmingham is severed,' Nathaniel Fox wrote, under date of 21, 5, '95—'Our meeting decided to return your certificate to Birmingham'—adding that this was done because of our not being "'in touch'" (to use a current phrase). He went on to say, 'there was a very kindly feeling evinced towards you personally,' which I take to mean, as a man, apart from my Quaker principles. If you don't like Quaker principles, as I am led to conclude from this, you do not need to tell me of it; I dare say I shall find it out soon enough some other way.

"To return my certificate to Birmingham where you know I do not want to remain and never wished to be a member, and by so doing to refuse me membership of this Monthly Meeting, where you



know I wish to be, and have moreover considerable claim to be on the ground of my ancestors for generations past having been members of this meeting, is, I must say, a very 'shabby' thing. I can only suppose that it was on account of my ill health and consequent inability to appear among you in person that it was done. It seems incredible however.

"Is it not a very irregular method of proceeding to send me no intimation of the decision of the Monthly Meeting, and to leave me to find it out for myself? I have a clear right to be a member of the Monthly Meeting of this neighbourhood, whether you are 'in touch' with me or not. You can only refuse me membership of it on two grounds. (1) On the ground of its having been clearly ascertained that my principles are not Quaker principles. (2) On the ground of your having seceded from the Society of Friends and not holding the principles professed by that body. As you do not inform me of the latter, and as the former is not the case, it is clear that you have no ground for refusing me membership—To say that you have is merely to play with words. If you are so very particular about being 'in touch' with me, why don't the members of the Monthly Meeting come over to Mawes and make my acquaintance? It is quite possible they would get as much 'touch' as they want.

"It looks a little peculiar, not to say very much so, the way Thomas Hodgkin is seen in the newspapers to be to such a degree 'in touch' with the Rector as to be almost hand-and-glove. This is the more remarkable as coming after the spirited action of Alderman Fox.

"It would be interesting to know how far the 'Friends' of Falmouth and district are still under the influence of those three great popish paintings they are known to possess, namely—Titian's 'Ignatius Loyola' (the founder of Jesuitism), Vandyke's 'a dead Christ'—(very dead indeed) and Andrea del Sarto's 'The Holy Family' (including Holy Mother of God, whence came the Holy Inquisition &c.)

"To expect us Quakers at Mawes to be 'in touch' with the matters here referred to, and others of a similar nature too numerous for mention, is making a great mistake. To be 'within the compass of yours' and 'recommended to your genuinely Christian care' does not compromise us in the least.

Samuel Fox.

"p.s. Edward Pickard and Edwin Tregelles are desirous of knowing how soon they become members of the Monthly Meeting of this district, having each written to their Monthly Meetings to have their certificates forwarded on.  
S. F."

There were not many days to wait before the "row" which

Fox had foreseen, and of which he had forewarned N.F., made its appearance in the form of a letter from the Clerk of the Monthly Meeting to which Birmingham belongs, and of which Fox was a member. This letter arrived at the beginning of the stay at Portscatho.

“WARWICKSHIRE NORTH MONTHLY MEETING.

WM. LITTLEBOY,  
CLERK.

SAMUEL H. FOX.

15, HIGHFIELD ROAD,  
BIRMINGHAM,  
6th. MO. 12th., 1895.

“Dear Friend,

“We have just received back your Certificate (sent some months since) from West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, on the ground that ‘there appears to be no intention or wish on his part to attend our Meetings.’ This is the 3rd. or 4th. time that your Certificate has been returned to us on these or similar grounds.

“This Monthly Meeting has taken the case into consideration, and it is felt that as you would appear to have practically severed your connection with the Society of Friends there is no advantage in retaining your name on our List of Members.

“I am therefore directed to inform you that the Meeting has decided to remove your name as a Member of the Society under paragraph 21 page 201 of the Book of Discipline at our next Meeting on the 9th. of 7th. month. If you desire to make any communication to the Meeting in connection with this decision, please let me have it before that time. Yours sincerely,

Wm. Littleboy  
Clerk.”

To this Fox replied in the following letter:—

“Annandale Cottage,  
Portscatho, Cornwall,  
27, Sixth, 1895.

“To Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting.

“A letter has reached me written in a very irregular style, and sent off in a very irregular manner, being posted in Birmingham (Five Ways) eight days after the date of writing. This letter purports to be from you, that is if I am to suppose you capable of doing things in such an irregular way. A letter from the Monthly Meeting beginning, ‘We,’ should be signed ‘in and on behalf of the meeting.’ Apparently this letter is not from you, but a mere personal matter between myself and William Littleboy, that needs no particular attention as from me to you. Is that your meaning? If so it is an unprecedented sort of letter, and I should like to know by what right it was thus written and thus sent.



"I shall now proceed to examine the letter itself piece by piece, and afterwards say what I have to say upon the subject of it.

"This letter of yours, if you own it, discloses the fact that you want to get rid of me, and yet begins, 'Dear Friend' with a capital F. as though you were sensible that I really am a Friend. If you were not you had no business to write thus, however much I might be nominally a member, for it is against Friends' principles to write what is not true. It also ends, 'Yours sincerely,' which is as false as the 'Dear Friend' to a man you are trying to get rid of. It is like saying: 'Dear Friend, we have fixed the 9th. of next month for your assassination. Yours sincerely;' and then the 6th. Mo. 12th. and the printed heading at the top, with the Clerk's name printed on as though he was Secretary of the affair, and two lines printed across like a bill-head or memorandum form, as though you were ashamed of the business and desirous of ridding yourselves of the responsibility of it, as well you might be. Do you wish to turn the Society of Friends into a club, with its Secretary to whom all powers are delegated?

"You say the meeting 'felt' (something about wanting to get rid of me); but why say 'felt'? No amount of feeling can make up for doing a thing which is unreasonable in itself.

"How could you by any possibility make out that I 'would appear to have practically severed my connection with the Society of Friends'? In what way could I possibly have shown that? I have been ill for nearly two years past. In what way do sick people signify to the world what connection they 'would appear to have' with things from which their indisposition shuts them out? I have not severed my connection with the Society of Friends in any way.

"You say, if you own the irregular letter that has reached me, that this is 'the third or fourth time' that my certificate has been sent back. This is not correct. I only know of one time previously, namely at Charlbury. But at Charlbury I did not wish to leave your Meeting, which makes all the difference. Whereas, here I have expressed the wish to have my name transferred from your Monthly Meeting to that of West Cornwall.

"When you received the communication from West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, you must have known that it was very irregular for them to make disparaging statements about me behind my back, and especially as to what my future 'intentions' might or might not be. In the present case it is a matter of no intentions having been expressed either one way or the other. I simply stated the fact that I had no expectation of attending meeting, and the Committee could see for themselves that I was in no fit state to do so, or likely to be. For my part I was surprised at their asking



the question. I also told them I did not want to trouble them.

"There must be something in Membership besides the mere attendance at meetings, which H.S. Newman in his simplicity, or rather acuteness, pretends should constitute membership; else why put the asterisk to the names on the list, of such as are only 'Attenders,' but not Members? If you should be in any difficulty about my name, in this connection, you could put a double or treble asterisk to it, signifying that I am a Member. I understand that rich people who never go to meeting retain their names on the list by paying a yearly subscription. The Society of Friends did not use to be a club dependent on its lists of names and yearly subscriptions.

"What notion is this as to the 'advantages' of my name being on the books? Why single me in particular out in this respect? You have a number of other members on the books whose faces you never see, some of them resident abroad and likely never to return. If some so-called 'Friends' see no 'advantage,' or 'no beauty that they should desire in' me, it does not follow that such is the case with all. As to the 'advantage,' in point of fact there is great advantage to you in retaining my name on the books, and so keeping up the name for conscience in the Society, which some so-called 'Friends' are doing their best to throw away. You will only make yourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world by pretending to erase from your books the name of the best-known Quaker in the world. Such an attempt is too puerile.

"You are in error. Removing my name from the books is by no means equivalent to removing me from the Society of Friends. Removing my name from the list, which could be easily done through inadvertency, is not disowning me. If you wanted to disown me, you would still have it to do; and I should take a lot of disowning, and might start disowning you in print from the principles of the Society of Friends—no hard matter I fear. You may rest assured that if you did once pretend to cast me adrift, I should stick to your skirts, and let you feel the full weight of my presence among you. Whilst you let me alone there may be no particular object in interfering with you; but the moment you attempt to defraud me of my inalienable rights, that moment sees me in your midst, not bodily perhaps, but in such manner as no amount of efforts on your part shall suffice ever to rid yourselves of me.

"The rule you quote against me I altogether deny—the work of H.S. Newman, a Jesuit or tool of the Jesuits. I was at the Yearly Meeting in London when he introduced it. I wholly disapproved it then, and I wholly disapprove it now. But even according to that rule, you are not the proper persons to deal with me, as

I cannot possibly attend your meetings, even if I would. Only West Cornwall Monthly Meeting can.

"When I was yet with you, I objected to attending your go-to-sleep meetings. I recollect telling you on one occasion in meeting, that before the religion of do-nothing came into vogue, the Quakers used to be terribly in earnest about life. This you did not like to hear, and reckoned to be a disturbing element, as I suppose it would be to such as were content to let things drift on aimlessly. According to all accounts the first Quakers were earnest men, not tolerating shams. You cannot blame me for being the same, and if I stayed away sometimes through not wishing to disturb you, unless there was clear call to go, you ought to thank me rather than the reverse. I objected, as you know, to go to Bull Street Firstday morning meetings, on account of its being the custom for so-called 'Friends' to roll to meeting in carriages like so many invalids. No other sect does this, except the rather heartless Unitarians. Even aristocratic members of the Church of England walk to the steeplehouse, whatever the distance, and seem to make it a point of honour. George Fox did not roll to meeting in a carriage, nor did William Penn or any other of the first Quakers, though they had the means. If Friends' meetings are sleepy places, what must they be when so-called 'Friends' are too indolent even to walk to meeting? For this reason I stayed away, going only on Fourthdays, though at considerable inconvenience, having to walk about four miles there and back, in the midst of my other work. Eventually, as you know, I had to stay away even from these meetings (this was after you had driven William Graham away \*), because my presence tended to rouse the meeting rather uncomfortably from sleep. So much for the past. I have not made trial of things and meetings in this Monthly Meeting, because I have not had occasion to.

"The Friends of West Cornwall Monthly Meeting well know that I am too ill to get to any of their meetings, and that this has been the case for seven or eight months past. I am not in the habit of intending or wishing to do what is out of the question. As a matter of fact Mawes is about thirty miles by land from Falmouth; by steamer it is three good miles. On Firstday mornings there is no boat to suit the meeting. There is only one boat on Firstday

\* William Graham is one of those who made a stand some 35 years ago against the innovations in doctrine and practice introduced into the Society of Friends by that anti-Quaker movement within the Society, which is associated with the name of Joseph John Gurney. For some 30 years he remained unflinchingly at his post in Birmingham meeting, a thorn in the side of the self-complacent innovators there. But as years grew upon him, and when business no longer compelled him to remain in Birmingham, he doubtless decided that it was not required of him to run the gauntlet there any longer, and retired to Malvern where he now resides.



morning, leaving Mawes 7.15 a.m. The return boat is 4.30 p.m. which gives four hours to wait both before and after meeting.

"When the Committee of West Cornwall Monthly Meeting (one of whom was my uncle, the other my father's old schoolfellow) came over to see me about my certificate, I was hardly well enough to see them, and made particular inquiry about their burial-ground (as to its being unconsecrated, as I supposed they had only part in a cemetery). They seemed concerned, and afforded me the requisite information. Am I now to conclude that this was mere hypocrisy on their part, and that you yourselves would wish to prevent my burial in unconsecrated ground on account of 'his being not a Friend'? This Committee sounded me on my Quaker principles, and expressed themselves satisfied. I expressed to them a strong wish to become a member of this Monthly Meeting. Later on I wrote to West Cornwall Monthly Meeting protesting against their returning my certificate. That Monthly Meeting had no right to return my certificate.

"I would suggest that you send down my certificate to West Cornwall Monthly Meeting again, telling them they must keep it, and deal with me direct if they have anything to say. My Committee have informed me privately that such is their wish. Their Monthly Meeting, it appears, is not unused to having some of its members resident in other meetings, and had no conception that you would proceed to extremities. You ought therefore to give them the opportunity of reconsidering their decision. To act otherwise is certainly taking advantage of my ill health. Some may think I am too ill to fight it out. Not so. Men of my calibre meet death on the battlefield.  
Samuel Fox."

Note.—As both J.S. and N.F. pleaded not guilty in the matter of returning the certificate, Fox was quite justified in stating as above that they were both desirous it should be sent to West Cornwall again. J. S. pleaded absence from the monthly meeting where the minute to return the certificate was passed; while N. F. pleaded that though personally favourable to retaining it he had been overruled by others, and had been obliged to proceed in the matter, as Clerk, against his inclination. The latter wrote an apparently friendly letter (dated June 25, 1895), explaining the delay in the dispatch of W. Littleboy's communication as arising from an endeavour on his part to persuade W. L. and the Birmingham "Friends" to delay extreme measures, expressing his opinion, "The notice from North Warwickshire gives an opening for a letter from you which if written in a proper spirit will not unlikely induce them to communicate with us in your favour," and concluding, "Always desiring to help you I remain your truly attached Uncle." Fox, in reply to this (27, Sixth, '95),

while telling N.F., "I appreciate the pains thou has taken to undo the blunders that have been made, and hope it will be effectual," also wrote, "I suppose thou knows by this time that I do not bend where principle is concerned. Consequently it will not surprise thee to learn that I have not fallen prostrate on my face before either Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting, or West Cornwall Monthly Meeting. If either of those Monthly Meetings wants to do battle with me, and positively takes up the cudgels, why, I suppose it may lead to results."

Not content with sending the above long letter to the Monthly Meeting collectively, a list of members was procured, and a copy of the following printed circular sent to a large number of them individually, to warn them of the vital issues at stake, and to acquaint them with the importance of attending the meeting on the 9th. inst. :—

*"To each individual member of Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting (especially to such as are not more than half asleep), and to thee in particular.*

"On page 201, paragraph 21, of the New Book of Discipline there is an infamous rule by which such as do not attend meetings within a certain period of time, however much they are convinced of Quaker principles, and however actively they are engaged in spreading them and suffering for them, their names are struck off the books without compunction, in the hopes of being able to remove them from the Society without disowning them. This rule was designed by H. S. Newman to exclude true Quakers from Membership in the Society of Friends. It was brought forward by him in the Yearly Meeting of 1883, and after considerable opposition on the part of such as were endeavouring to be true Quakers present at the Yearly Meeting, it was carried through by the others. This rule is a Jesuitical rule, as by it Membership in the Society of Friends is made to consist in mere attendance of meetings, whereby they would make the Society of Friends into a mere sect like all other sects, and no longer a body of sterling men whose object in the world is to do good and to stand up for what is right. Rome does not want such men in the world, neither do the designing priestly intriguers in the Society of Friends, who would wish to dictate to us infallibly, but without reason, on the high questions of right and wrong, and thus bring us into the sleepy and emasculating bondage from which the Society of Friends was raised up to set people free.

"Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting (that is the *very* small section of it that 'regularly attends' the Monthly Meeting) of which meeting thou art a member, proposes to attempt to enforce this rule next Third-day, the 9th. of this (Seventh) month,



in the case of one of its members, the undersigned Samuel Fox, whose principles and actions thou, as well as every other member of the Monthly Meeting, knows to be Quaker principles and Quaker actions.

"As it is likely that this will be a test case, and as it is important not to allow an improper precedent to be established, and as the very existence of the Society of Friends is threatened by it, we, the undersigned earnestly request thy attendance at the Monthly Meeting to be held at Bull St., on Thirdday, the 9th inst., and to do thy very utmost to stop this new rule from being enforced. A letter from Samuel Fox has been sent to the Monthly Meeting protesting against such action. This thou will ask to have read *in extenso*—ask to have it read a second time, clause by clause, slowly—and not allow the subject to be passed over hurriedly, or without receiving due attention.

Maves, (nr.) Falmouth,  
2, Seventh, 1895.

SAMUEL FOX,  
EDWIN TREGELLES,  
EDWARD PICKARD."

Note.—The writers of the above circular and letter had not a copy of the Revised Book of Discipline by them when writing. A copy of the rule is here appended:—

"21.—Where there are persons in membership who make little or no profession with us, and do not attend our Meetings for Worship, and no advantage appears likely to arise from their retaining a membership in our Society, Monthly Meetings are at liberty to remove the names of such persons from their lists of members, if, after communicating verbally or in writing with them, they are satisfied that there is no probability of their resuming the attendance of our Meetings. Information must be given to such persons that their names have been so removed. 1883."

It will be seen by the above, that even by this rule a Quaker can not be removed from the Monthly Meeting List of Members for mere non-attendance of meetings while the Society of Friends continues to profess Quaker principles, as John E. Baker pointed out on a later occasion after West Cornwall had returned the certificate a second time, when some of the Birmingham "Friends" were pressing again for the removal of Fox's name from the list, "But he *does* make profession with us."

It seems that Birmingham monthly meetings have recently been transformed into tea-meetings, tea being provided before the meeting. Perhaps this may explain the fact of the Clerk's omitting to read Fox's letter on the 9th., only allowing the members of the Monthly Meeting to whom the letter was addressed, unless it were a favoured few forming the then dominant section,

to hear the small portion which explained the impossibility of his attending Falmouth meetings. No one seems to have asked to have the letter read in full. But while Fox's letter was thus kept away from those to whom it was addressed, a letter from H.S. Newman was read, denying the points urged against him in the circular. It is possible that he did not introduce the rule exactly as it stands in the Book of Discipline. It looks at any rate as if some hand had modified it so as to render it ineffectual against a Quaker sufficiently determined in his own defence. And as for not having introduced it "in order to exclude true Friends," of course H. S. N. had no intention of excluding *his* friends. It is, however, curious, to say the least of it, that while neither circular nor letter containing the charges against H. S. N. was read in the monthly meeting, it should be thought necessary by the Clerk to read his denial of those charges. It points clearly to the manipulation of the meeting by an interested clique, to H.S.N.'s sense of the cap fitting rather too well, and to the Clerk's recognition of the altered situation, in that instead of Fox being on his trial, it was now H.S.N. whose defence required to be read. With regard to Fox's certificate, the Birmingham monthly meeting decided to send it again to West Cornwall, asking that Monthly Meeting to keep it, or else to give some other reason for returning it, as it was quite clear that ill-health made it impossible for him to attend Falmouth meetings.

Fox wrote the following letter to W. Littleboy, to which he received no reply:—

"Annandale Cottage, Portscatho,  
Cornwall; 13, Seventh, '95.

"To the Clerk of Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting.

"It has come to my knowledge that thou only read bits of my letter to Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting in the monthly meeting at Bull Street on Thirdday last.

"Will thou please tell me by what authority thou did this, and what right thou had not to read the whole letter. Samuel Fox."

The circular, sent to the members of Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting and others, brought criticism from several points of view. In response to the question why Fox put himself about to retain his membership, he replied:—"Membership in the Society of Friends is no mere sentiment to me. I have not lost hope of the Society of Friends. When we see the Society of Friends superseded by a body of men more capable of doing its work, it will be time enough to think about severing our connection." One person wrote to the effect that, if the Society is just now doing things that are up another street from Quakerism, a true Quaker is not rightfully a member of it; thus claiming for either majorities or money or both, a higher place in the Society



of Friends than the great principles on which it was founded. A Birmingham "Friend," after stating that "the Society of Friends *is a Sect* among other Sects, and has no more grounds of infallibility than other Sects," and that "it may be a painful duty" to strike off the names of Quakers from the books, added as encouragement, "Remember, *if* you are in the right, you have the blessing of being persecuted for righteousness' sake, and the judge is *no* Society but infallible goodness and mercy." These points were thus handled in reply:—

"Ought a real man to consider 'the blessing of being persecuted for righteousness' sake' a sufficient compensation for injustice, betrayal, and the impeding of his work? What about those who do the persecuting? Is it a further 'blessing' to the real man to sit down to himself, and think about those who are getting the cursing? After all a 'blessing' is not of much account to us, especially if it is purchased by the cursing of others.

"The Society of Friends has no business with being 'a sect among other sects.' It was not raised up to spend its time in thinking about the future world, nor was the holding of meetings its principal object. These two are the principal objects of the sects. The Society arose from the necessity of those who were doing right, sticking together, and helping each other. But this was only justifiable on the ground of their doing, and going on doing right. It would else have been a Club, or a Benefit Society. Its difference, then, from 'other sects,' is not a question of 'infallibility,' in holding different doctrines from other people; but it consists in carrying into action what other people only talk about.

"We cannot conceive how it could ever be a 'painful duty' to strike the names of Quakers off the books, in this slipshod style, 'however much they are convinced of Quaker principles, and however actively they are engaged in spreading them and suffering for them.' It would be a painful duty to disown people for not being Quakers. But this slipshod method is specially designed to get rid of the pain."

Contemporaneously with the dispatch of the above letter and circular to Birmingham, some of the immediate effects of which have been narrated, Fox sent the following letter to Falmouth:—

"Annandale Cottage, Portscatho,  
28, Sixth, '95.

"To West Cornwall Monthly Meeting.

"Most of you will probably have heard the effect produced upon Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting, caused by your returning my certificate. Considering the state of the Society, it is not to be wondered at that Birmingham should have acted



upon the suggestion that you threw out to them, in stating, as you did, that 'there does not appear to be any intention or wish on his part to attend our meetings'—a statement which however true it may be made to 'appear' verbally, like saying that the sun does not 'appear' to have any spots upon it, is without foundation in fact, and would 'appear' only to have been used to wrest negative evidence against me by implication.

"Information has reached me privately that you have for some time past been 'removing' non-residents who were only nominal members, and that you considered you would be reversing that course if you accepted one (namely myself) who avowedly did not care to attend. I must protest against such a view of the case. Firstly, how can you call me a 'non-resident'? I am resident in West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, and therefore rightfully a member of it. Secondly, you have no right to call me a 'nominal member'—I who have suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake, as is known to the whole newspaper-reading world. Thirdly, the idea of anyone presuming to say that I avowedly do not care to attend Quakers' meetings! Not a bit of it. If I were well enough and knew of a Quakers' meeting within reasonable distance, I should be there sometimes.

"Your communication to Birmingham, 'There does not appear to be any intention or wish on his part to attend our meetings,' is unkind and unjust, to say the least of it. It is unkind, because the 'wish' I did express—not to trouble you, is quite overlooked. It is unjust, because the ultimate reason of my non-attendance, namely inability to attend, is not stated. You do me wrong. The fact is, I have been invalided now for nearly two years past, and could not attend your meetings, even if it were desirable. Such being the case, you have no right to refuse my certificate on the ground of non-attendance of meetings.

"It must be quite clear to you that I cannot attend Birmingham meetings. That being so, if you have any complaint to make about my non-attendance of meetings, you ought to deal with me direct, and not through Birmingham, as though you were quite willing to do me an act of injustice, but did not want to have the doing of it yourselves.

"This unkind proceeding of yours, with the untoward results to which it has led, has put me to a deal of trouble, which in the present state of my health I ought to be spared. Besides writing to you a long and careful letter, which you have treated with unaccountable rudeness and neglect, not making me any reply, I have had to write to Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting on the subject, and to a number of individuals in both Monthly Meetings, to acquaint them with the state of affairs, and the importance of the issues pending.

"I have suggested to Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting, their sending down to you my certificate again. If they do this, I shall expect you to keep it, as I am 'resident' in West Cornwall Monthly Meeting. If they do not do this, I expect you to extricate me from the awkward position into which you have brought me, and shall hold you responsible if you do not.

Samuel Fox."

A few days later, Fox, having heard from the Birmingham Clerk that his certificate had been sent a second time to Falmouth, wrote N. F. a letter from which the following is extracted :—

"Whatever others may have said about not being 'in touch' with me, thou can have no excuse on that ground, for thou knows me personally ; and I don't see that West Cornwall can have much excuse, as it ought to know the Fox family by this time. What do they take us for? Fox, Pickard, and Tregelles are well known names. We were not born yesterday. They may not appear just now to be such well-known names as Horniman, with his celebrated tea.\* But then tea is not the only thing in the world. The Society of Friends has gained its distinction from matters of conscience, not from tea.

"Knowing the facts, as thou does, I shall expect thee, when the matter comes forward at next 2 months' meeting to be held shortly, as a man of conscience to resign thy post of Clerk to the 2 Months' Meeting, if that is the only alternative to doing a glaring injustice, and writing words that are untrue. [West Cornwall Monthly Meeting only holds 8 monthly meetings in the year. Hence the term 2 Months' Meeting is frequently used.]

"I cannot win you over to elect me (so to speak) to your Monthly Meeting, by judiciously distributing large sums of money, as Horniman seems to have done. Doubtless, if I were to give a new harmonium to one of your 'Adult Schools' (a thing, by the way, against which, as religious music, the Society of Friends has a testimony), you would receive my certificate flying. But I must not be expected to practice these arts; and would not, if I could. The fact is, we do not believe in doing things on the loose. We do not believe in breaking things up indiscrimi-

\* F. J. Horniman, a nominal member of the Society of Friends, and wealthy tea-merchant, at this time before the United Borough of Penryn, Falmouth and Flushing as Liberal candidate for Parliament, was causing a great furore amongst the needy and the greedy by his subscriptions, donations and promises, of the latter the most attractive being the abolition of the galling Rector's Rate. When, however, he became "Our Member," to use the newspaper term, it transpired, apparently with many of his admirers and supporters to their surprise, that the "abolition" of the Rector's Rate consisted in the removal of the burden of its collection from the shoulders of the Rector to those of the Falmouth Corporation.

nately, whether in the Society of Friends or out of it. We have no sympathy with Horniman, the demagogue. It may yet be necessary for us to show publicly that we are not 'in touch' with Horniman and his clique.

"Please write us word where the ensuing 2 months' meeting will be held, and on what day and what hour? We hear that Pickard's certificate is on the way, and will be presented to that meeting. Is this to be a new act in the drama? You will have two certificates to deal with; and, if Tregelles's is also on the way, three.

Samuel Fox."

N. F. not making any reply to this letter, not even communicating the time and place of the next monthly meeting, Fox wrote to G. H. Fox, who supplied the desired information. On the 7th. of Eighthmonth, therefore, Pickard went over to Falmouth and sat through the monthly meeting there, wearing his hat the whole time. In what is called the "meeting for worship," Pickard rose with his hat on, and said: "To sit down and ask to be given something is not worship. To do the will of God, or to do right, *that* is worship." In the business meeting, after several other matters had been considered, one of which was as to the best way to combat dry-rot in an old meeting-house, Fox's letter was read through by the Assistant Clerk as quickly as possible, and the minute from Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting sending his certificate a second time. N. F. then restated to the meeting the words that Fox had used to him at Mawes, that he did not expect to attend Falmouth meetings, adding, "I should not do you any good; and you would not do me any good." Upon this, Pickard rose to make an explanation on Fox's behalf, but was instantly pulled up by the Clerk (N. F.) who first asked him, "Who are you?" and then, "What is thy status?" Pickard, after standing a few moments with his arms folded, said, "I am astonished! There are those here who both know who I am, and what Meeting I am a member of." The Clerk still refusing to let him speak, Pickard looked up at the ceiling and around the room, as though to assure himself that he was in a Friends' Meeting House, and asked, "Is truth not allowed to be spoken in this building, then?" to which the Clerk murmured a faint reply which sounded like, "It seems not." After a suggestion from Robert Fox, that Pickard should be allowed to speak on condition that he left the meeting immediately afterwards, which he indignantly rejected, he was allowed to explain that both members of the Committee who visited Fox at Mawes must have known that he could not attend their meetings in his weak state of health, and that therefore the statement he made should have been understood in the spirit in which it was spoken, namely the wish to avoid unpleasantness (as though he had said, "I



don't want to trouble you, and my health is not such as to stand the strain of your meetings." In point of fact, Fox did express in so many words his wish "not to trouble" Falmouth Friends.) The Clerk then called the attention of the meeting to a large bundle of correspondence, and suggested that the matter should be referred to a committee. Hereupon, Pickard asked, "Am I to understand that you wish to hush things up?" After this, several of those present recommended that the certificate should be returned to Birmingham again, Robert Fox "seeing no reason why the previous decision should be reversed," John Stephens expressing himself decidedly of the same mind, and G. H. Fox saying he was "prepared to take" his "share of the responsibility." The Clerk made no show of resistance, and allowed himself to appear the willing tool of the meeting in this matter. Only after the minute was drawn up, ratified, and signed, did he show his uneasiness with the part he had allowed himself to take, by giving in his resignation of the Clerkship, on the ground of the pressure of other business on his time. This was accepted by the meeting. Before the minute was signed, Pickard rose, and, in spite of the Clerk's endeavours to stop him, spoke as follows:—"I rise to ask a question:—Were not the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends arranged in order to connect people living in the same district territorially? Or is it the fact that Monthly Meetings were merely cliques of people who agreed with each other, and who could exclude those who did not happen to agree with them? Is the Society of Friends a Sect, and a Monthly Meeting a Clique within a Sect?"

Falmouth "Friends" had said they were not "in touch" with Fox. Pickard came to their monthly meeting to bring them into touch with him, and to make any necessary explanation. Instead of welcoming the opportunity, however, they did their best to stop him from speaking before they knew what he was going to say, and tried to get him to leave their meeting, the non-attendance of which was their excuse for returning Fox's certificate. This goes to show that the case was prejudged, without judging it on its merits. After having dinner at a restaurant, Pickard was surprised when passing Market Strand to be accosted by a woman "Friend" whom he had seen at the meeting, and who now asked him to come to dinner. He at once asked, "What is thy name?" and was told, "Elizabeth Stephens." Upon this he said, "Thanks, I have had my dinner. But you have done a most extraordinary thing in returning the certificate." E. S. : "But why do you oppose us in everything?" Pickard: "It is *you* that oppose *us*; as evidence your returning the certificate." E.S. : "But why should you disturb people by wearing your hats?" Pickard: "It isn't disturbing to wear a hat." E.S. : "I

don't think it is courteous or reverent to wear your hats." Pickard: "How about the early Quakers?" E.S.: Oh, I should think more of them if they hadn't worn their hats. Besides, it was the custom then to wear hats in houses." Pickard: "But it wasn't the custom to wear them in steeplehouses." E.S.: "I think it is rude of you. I don't approve of the way young Friends lounge in meeting." Pickard: "That is the very opposite of wearing a hat." As there was a small crowd collecting, E. S. retired, and rode away in her carriage, with her husband (J. S.) who had not alighted.

In a letter to his parents (8, Eighth, '95) Fox thus summed up the situation, as revealed by Pickard's visit to Falmouth meeting the day before:—"Edward's going over yesterday has brought out the double-dealing of the Falmouth so-called Friends, in writing to Birmingham to have my certificate sent down again, only to send it back as soon as it came. They actually think to weary us out by these arts; but we have a knack of going to sleep when we are tired, and waking up again; whereby they find it a very hard matter to weary us out. They think, however, that Time is going to do it. Time will no doubt do something; but what? It is, as I used to tell Birmingham—They have the money on their side, and we have the principles; and it will be seen in the long-run which comes off best." He wrote in another letter at this time:—"The Falmouth theory seems to be that no Quaker should live where there is not a 'meeting,' and that all who do so may be crossed off the Society's books for non-attendance of meetings."

Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting at their Ninthmonth meeting, after another attempt to remove Fox's name from their list, which was frustrated as already mentioned by its being shown that rule 21 could not be made to apply to his case, passed a minute sending his certificate a third time to West Cornwall, with the hint that that Monthly Meeting should give some other reason for returning it—an excuse being doubtless desired by some of the Birmingham "Friends" that they could use as a lever for his disownment.

When the day came round for the next monthly meeting at Falmouth (Ninthmonth, 1895) Fox made a great effort and, along with Pickard and Tregelles, went across the water from Flushing, took a carriage to the Meetinghouse, and arrived just at the commencement of the business meeting. They walked up to the top, and took their seats on the front form, facing the Clerk and Assistant Clerk, and only divided from them by the table. They wore their hats throughout the proceedings. John Stephens and Nathaniel Fox were both absent. A good deal of whispering



went on between the Clerk and Assistant (A. Willmore and G. H. Fox.) Then the meeting proceeded to business. A number of minutes were read and commented upon, dealing with the sale, &c. of old meeting-houses and burial-grounds. This took some time. Then there was a lot more whispering, the upshot of which was, that the Clerk got up and said the meeting had now to deal with business concerning the three Friends opposite to him, whom he asked to withdraw while it was transacting. This each in turn declined to do, on the ground of not being delinquents; upon which the Clerk was greatly disturbed, and appealed to the meeting to back him up. This the meeting was in no hurry to do. But the Clerk, getting more and more agitated, and handling his papers as though he did not know what he was doing, at last refused point blank to go on with the meeting while Samuel Fox, Edward Pickard and Edwin Tregelles remained in it, said he would take the responsibility all on himself, and suggested that there should be an adjournment. After some more whispering, the Assistant Clerk got up and made a long, vague, dreamy kind of speech to the effect that this was, to put it mildly, on the whole, we might venture to say, West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, and concluding that it would be best to adjourn the business. Several members nodded their heads significantly, while this speech was proceeding, one person especially giving a most knowing nod to the statement that it was West Cornwall Monthly Meeting. After this the meeting considered the question of adjournment. They seemed very lukewarm about it; whereupon the Clerk again rallied them from the table, positively refusing to carry on the meeting, and throwing out his last card, namely that it had better put off the consideration of this matter till its "other members" (by which he meant J. S. and N. F.) were present. There was a much better attendance than on the last occasion. Two draft minutes of adjournment were then drawn up. The Assistant Clerk wanted an adjournment to a special meeting in Falmouth; but the Clerk would not hear of this, for fear the individuals concerned should come to it. The Clerk accordingly got a minute concocted for an adjournment to the next monthly meeting (at Redruth); but no mention was made as to when or where the next monthly meeting was to be. This he at length got carried, and signed in a very great hurry for fear it should be rescinded. The meeting then broke up in some confusion. Just before the conclusion, Elizabeth Stephens said, that members of the Society of Friends had a right to attend the business meetings of the Society, but had no right to speak in any but their own meetings without leave [to which Fox replied, "We quite acknowledge that."]; that therefore there was no need to adjourn the meeting on account of the re-

fusal of Fox, Pickard and Tregelles to withdraw; but that in consideration of some of their other members (mentioning her husband for one) not being present, it would be better to adjourn it.

On coming out into the entrance hall, there was a scene of quite another character. The men cleared off, as though they had been shot; and the women came around. Foremost among them was Elizabeth Stephens, who said that her husband had seen the three coming out of a public-house in Falmouth a few days previously. (This was about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the day when they had been looking for a house in Flushing and Falmouth, and had not had anything to eat or drink since breakfast. They had just been partaking of a glass of porter each and some bread and cheese, before returning across the water to Mawes.) She said, "You are not in unity with us," charged all three, and Fox in particular, with "masquerading," and stated that she was a tremendous temperance person. Fox, however, turned this back upon herself in a good-humoured way, making out that if she was, by her own confession, such a tremendous person, *she* must be doing the masquerading. At this a laugh went round amongst the others. Hereupon, Fox's aunt, Rebecca Fox, who it has since transpired had used her endeavours to prevent the returning of his certificate on the first occasion of its receipt, and who is a person of character, practical common sense, and humour, seeing that something piquant was going forward, came up and put in a spoke, asking Fox what was the last account of his parents. "Oh," said he, "the *last* account? —the very latest?" She wanted to shake hands; but Fox said, with a smile which set them all off laughing again, "What's the use of shaking hands with people like you?" and told her several times over that she ought to have stuck up for him in the meeting, adding, "Thou knows *very well* that I'm a decent sort of a chap." To this she answered, "Yes," and seemed pleased. She then asked, "May I come and call on thee?" Fox rejoined, in a very humorous vein, "Oh! wouldn't that be terrible, if thou came masquerading along, especially if thou came with the tremendous Stephens?" at which there was a general laugh. This sort of thing might have gone on agreeably enough for some time longer, had not Pickard been obliged to put a stop to it on account of the strain upon Fox's throat; whereupon they wended their way through Falmouth streets, purchasing a musical instrument and several other requirements, and back across the river to Flushing.

Although he had turned the matter off humorously, Fox did not consider the charges brought forward by Elizabeth Stephens after the monthly meeting could safely be allowed to pass by, without a more serious treatment than he could then give to them.



He therefore wrote her the following letter :—

“Flushing, near Falmouth,  
19, Ninth, 1895.

“To Elizabeth Stephens.

“Thou speaks of our not being in unity. Now this strikes me as being a little delusion. To be in unity is to be in agreement about things. I never heard yet of two people being in agreement upon every point, and do not think it would be possible or desirable for such to exist. There are, however, many points upon which people unite without difficulty, and others (not so nearly concerning themselves) upon which various circumstances induce them to *hold* various opinions. Thus, thou and I are in full unity that the material I am writing on is paper, and the fluid I write with is ink. This is because we are both practically acquainted with paper and ink. But now take the subject of red herrings, with which we are neither of us very intimately acquainted, and therefore *hold* speculative opinions as to the desirability of regarding them as a staple article of food. Take again pickles. There is no doubt that pickles do a vast amount of harm to the human race. I don't eat pickles. Perhaps thou does. Yet I don't ask thee to join the Universal Amalgamated United Temperance Alliance Anti-pickle League and Pickle Total Abstinence Union, nor say that because thou does not join the U. A. U. T. A. A. L. & P. T. A. U. thou art not in unity with me : this would be absurd. Here it would be a case of my *holding* a speculative opinion about pickles in general, never getting nearer to them than the outside of a bottle perhaps in a grocer's shop window ; and thy having some actual knowledge of pickles and judging of them accordingly.

“The real point at issue with reference to those few of your Monthly Meeting who are so anxious to return my certificate is, that I am not a quaker Jew. It is not really a matter of eating and drinking at all. You would not refuse my parents' certificates, if they came to live here, because they don't eat pickles. The real question is, do I intend, or do I not, to support the money interest in the Society like a good quaker Jew? Now I don't know why I should. It does not seem to concern me as a matter of principle. I do not accept the idea of the Society of Friends being a wealthy clique banded together for the purpose of holding one another up. Such was not their origin. They arose, like the Jews, as God's chosen, peculiar people, to enlighten the world. They have not accomplished this object. Surely thou does not need to be told how ignorant people are yet. And ignorance is darkness. It strikes me as the merest folly for people like us to be resting on our oars, and going in for fine villas, nice furniture, luxurious living, and placing our money out at usury. Time was when we used to disown such publicly, however much they pretended to be worshipping God by a regular attendance at

the seating house, or pretended to be converted and in a fair way to convert others (their deeds showed what they really were). All this talk about my being not in unity is merely a ruse to try and conceal the real state of the case. I am in unity with Friends undoubtedly. I am not in unity with money-grubbers particularly. I only wish there were more Friends to be in unity with. It is all stuff to talk of my not being in unity. I don't eat pickles, 'tis true. But who suggests the eating or non-eating of pickles as a principal basis of unity? I can adduce many bases that ought to be allowed to take rank before pickles. Take the negatives first. We are in unity as follows:—

"It is not good to be ignorant of what one ought to know.

"It is not good to let things drift aimlessly no whither.

"It is not good to neglect one's duty.

"It is not good to be the slave of custom.

"It is not good to be lazy at one's work.

"It is not good to leave things to others.

"It is not good to expect to reap where one has not sown.

"&c., &c., &c.

"Take some positives:—

"It is good to be a Christian.

"A Christian is a hero.

"Wisdom is above rubies.

"To obey is better than sacrifice.

"There is no end to do yet in the world.

"To do the will of God is the highest attainment.

"To do the will of God is to conquer.

"Life is a battle.

"&c., &c., &c.

"Either of the above bases of unity, negative or positive, a man or woman might die for on occasion; but not for pickles.

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Samuel Fox."

In response to a statement made about this time that Fox's Falmouth relations "meant to be extremely kind," he wrote:—"Bah! I have been so sickened in the past by this sort of thing—injustice hand-in-hand with 'kindness' and blindness. I do not want the Falmouth 'Friends' to be 'kind' to me, but to be *just*. (I write the word 'kind' in quotation marks, because true kindness includes justice, and theirs is not true kindness.)" To one of these Falmouth relations (G. H. Fox) he also wrote: "I generally find it not safe to go to extremes. You lose the proportions of things by so doing, and by and bye you don't know where you are. What would you say to being somewhat just to me, instead of so extremely kind? One of the great things that the first Quakers

fought for and achieved, was the right of self-defence. The first Quakers were, I think, not condemned without at least the issuing of an indictment in each case. But in our case you seem to think that we have no right to speak in our own defence; and not only so, but you positively bring no charges against us. Does not this strike thee as intolerance?" G. H. Fox, however, did not even respond to this letter to the extent of answering the question for which it was written, namely giving information of the time and place of the next monthly meeting. Edward Tange, of Redruth, having been next asked for this information, replied that he had forwarded the letter to the Clerk of the Monthly Meeting, N. Fox. This drew from Fox the following:—"Thou art probably aware that there has been a conspiracy of silence against us from the very beginning of this affair, when my certificate was first sent down from Birmingham. At the same time, my relations in Falmouth have appeared to be all smiles, my uncle even bringing me over himself a pot of jam. If thou had advised him to send me another pot of jam, doubtless he would have been willing enough to accept thy suggestion. But as to his sending us the information we require— The same conspiracy of silence is on in full swing in Birmingham. They wish to turn us out of the Society, with as little trouble as possible. If they can prevent us from knowing what the charges are that they bring against us, they will have no difficulty in sustaining them; but if we get to know what they are, these charges fall to the ground. Hence the necessity on their part for a conspiracy of silence." Having also inquired of Silvanus W. James of Truro, without receiving any reply, as a last resort Pickard attended the preparative meeting at Falmouth, the Firstday before the monthly meeting, where he learned that the monthly meeting at Redruth would be half-an-hour earlier than usual.

About a fortnight before this, Pickard's mother had paid a visit to Falmouth, evidently intending and expecting to side with the Falmouth "Friends," and to persuade Pickard to surrender at discretion. Two visits to Flushing, however, and conversation on several subjects there, were enough to cause her to give up this idea, and to leave somewhat hurriedly lest her native good sense and love of justice should compel her to side with the Hat Crusaders. A week after her departure, as will be narrated shortly, Pickard paid a second visit to Truro Cathedral.

But to return to the Redruth monthly meeting. It so transpired that a young Friend from Birmingham, an artist, who had been friendly to Fox when he lived there, came down on a flying visit, as Fox felt his life to be hanging by a slender thread and an attack of hæmoptysis had just warned him that he might be called away at any moment. This young man, Joseph E. Southall,

attended the monthly meeting at Redruth (6, Eleventh, 1895), not as approving of the Hat Crusade, but as an Englishman wishing to see fair play. Upon the subject coming up, Southall asked the Clerk if he might be allowed to speak as a Friend from Warwickshire. Upon this, one Charles Linney got up and said, that he ought not to be allowed to speak, as he might have come to speak on "these young men's" behalf. But when he claimed to be impartial, C. L. apologised if he had "hurt his feelings." Southall was not allowed to speak, excepting to state facts about Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting, "for fear he should take the part of these young men." It transpired in the discussion that West Cornwall "Friends" did not want to accept the certificates, because, if "these young men" became members with them, they would "extinguish the Monthly Meeting." C. L. also let out that he didn't see why West Cornwall Monthly Meeting "should have the onus of disowning them." Finally Fox's certificate was returned a third time, while Pickard's and Tregelles's certificates, which had been kept for four or five months "pending the decision of Samuel Fox's case," were returned to their respective Monthly Meetings, on the excuse of their having refused to withdraw when requested to do so from the meeting at Falmouth. It may well be asked what right the Monthly Meeting had to make one case "pend" on another, and without visiting. As Pickard said in a letter to his mother (3, Eleventh, '95), "In point of fact, West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, in their dealings with us and our certificates, have broken through the Discipline to such an extent, that, if we had nothing else to do, we have a strong enough case to get them disowned in a body from the Society of Friends;" while Fox, writing to his parents (27, Tenth, '95), remarked, "The Falmouth "Friends" have got themselves into a horrible mess by attempting to go against us. I warned them of it nearly a year ago, when they first began the affair; so that now they have only themselves to thank. Poor things! one could almost pity them. But then they should not have gone by mere appearances. They should at any rate have looked before they leaped."

On top of this third action of West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, who should arrive upon the scene but Fox's mother, with his brother Fortescue! The latter, with the cold, critical eye of a man of science, having attended Falmouth meeting one Firstday with his mother, told Fox that he felt, as he sat in meeting, that the "Friends" of Falmouth were in a very bad way, "not merely dead, but positively even decaying." This was very likely said, partly with the object of making Fox feel that it wasn't worth while to fight for membership in such a meeting. It is, however, likely that the cold eye of science would describe much else in

the world as "not only dead but positively decaying," in which a more sympathetic and a truer judgment would discern enough life for faith and perseverance to accomplish a recovery.

The following letter to Birmingham concluded the correspondence concerning Fox's certificate, that meeting deciding to retain him as their member, to which Fox was quite agreeable; indeed it is perhaps as well that he died a member of a large and influential meeting like Birmingham, rather than be identified with a timorous clique like that of Falmouth.

"Flushing, near Falmouth,  
25, Eleventh, '95.

"To Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting.

"Since writing you last Sixthmonth re the return of my certificate, ill health has necessitated my removal from Mawes to Flushing; and I am now become so weak that a few minutes outing in the bath-chair is as much as I can stand.

"In these circumstances, it is difficult to imagine what West Cornwall Monthly Meeting should have to fear from me in receiving my certificate—unless they want to refuse me burial among them in the old burial-ground at Budock. In returning my certificate, as I hear they have done, for the third time—a thing that is only done in the case of known delinquents—West Cornwall Monthly Meeting are holding me up to you as though I were a delinquent, and as though they would wish you to deal with me as such. Yet they bring no charges against me. I do indeed hear that they report me as having said, when my uncle came over to see me at Mawes, in reference to my attending Falmouth meeting, that they would not do me any good and that I should not do them any good. I did say this, in a good-humoured way, and thought it would be taken in the same way. As a matter of fact, I will ask you to bear me witness that, in the months that have elapsed since then, the 'Friends' of West Cornwall Monthly Meeting, instead of doing me good by affording me the 'Christian care' to which you recommended me, have been trying to do me harm by persistently refusing to receive my certificate, as though I were not worthy to receive such care. As to my doing them good, they would say that the letters I have written them on this matter have not done them good. But then, why did they refuse to receive my certificate, and so give me ground for writing those letters? I did not wish to write them; but they forced me to it. The expression I used was meant to convey my decided wish not to *trouble* 'Friends' down here by going amongst them or taking part in their meetings, that is, if I had been well enough to do so; as my coming down to Cornwall was chiefly on account of health. It has, however, been abundantly shown that I was not well enough. Therefore they ought not to take advantage of me,



as though I were well enough to go amongst them, and impute motives for my conduct which have no foundation in fact.

"I hear it rumoured about that my certificate had been returned from several places, before you sent it to West Cornwall. I must be allowed to point out that this is not the fact. Only at Charlbury was I visited on the receipt of my certificate, and it was not returned from any other place to my knowledge. From Charlbury it was returned at my request. It is only fair that I should have the opportunity of correcting this exaggerated statement.

"In case you should again send my certificate to West Cornwall, I should particularly request that you would ask them to deal with me direct, if they have anything against me.

Samuel Fox."

It must here be stated, that, as in the previous case, the above letter was not read in the monthly meeting at Birmingham, but was merely announced by the Clerk to be "a very pleasant letter, and couched in very different terms from the last." Alfred Balkwill, an overseer of Plymouth meeting, who paid several friendly visits to Flushing, seems to have written to Birmingham (his letter was read in the monthly meeting), promising to take a kindly interest in the three members of the Society at Flushing whom the West Cornwall "Friends" had rejected. Perhaps it will not be without interest to those concerned, and may have more interest as time goes on, to quote from a letter written by Fox to his father (13, Twelve, '95):—"Birmingham Meeting (W. N. M. M.) have decided to keep my certificate—much good may it do them! So we go on. H. S. Newman it seems is at the bottom of it, and he expects me to be very civil to him therefor. Umph! On the whole, so long as he keeps out of my way, there won't be much occasion for civilities of any kind. Poor old Falmouth, and all the lot of them, they could not get their way after all. If I had not been so ill, I might not have been so stiff with so-called Friends. Their presuming boldly to take advantage of my weak state in this respect, caused me to advance '*au pas de charge*.' By putting them to the rout I have saved them the ridiculous blunder of defeating a small body of unarmed troops. If they had succeeded they would have been ashamed of it. I have saved them this shame."

To Brighthouse Monthly Meeting, to which Leeds belongs, of which meeting he is still a member, Pickard wrote as follows:—

"Flushing, near Falmouth,  
7, Eleventh, '95.

"To Brighthouse Monthly Meeting.

"It has come to my knowledge that West Cornwall Monthly Meeting yesterday at Redruth passed a minute returning my

certificate, which you may recollect sending down to them in Sixthmonth last. The excuse they offer for returning it, would seem to be that I refused to withdraw, when asked, from the monthly meeting at Falmouth in Tenthmonth. They may possibly imply in their minute that I was disturbing the meeting. This was not the case, however, for I had remained silent until asked to withdraw, when I said I could not do so. As a matter of fact they had no right to ask me to withdraw, as I was not a delinquent.

"In reference to the action of West Cornwall Monthly Meeting in regard to my certificate, I wish you to note the following points. You will see that they constitute a series of breaches of Discipline on the part of the Monthly Meeting.

"1. West Cornwall Monthly Meeting has kept my certificate for five months. This is a most extraordinary proceeding.

"2. They have kept my certificate, postponing its consideration from month to month, 'pending the decision' of another case.

"3. They have not acquainted me with the fact of my certificate being in their possession. It was only indirectly that I came to know that you had sent my certificate to West Cornwall.

"4. During the whole of this time, they have not appointed a committee to visit me, and have now returned the certificate without having visited me at all.

"5. The Clerk has refused information as to the time of monthly meeting, when asked.

"6. Not only have they given me no information of the receipt of my certificate, or of their decision to return it, but they have refused me the right to be present to see and hear for myself what their grounds for first putting it off, and then returning it, were. They adjourned the Tenthmonth meeting before proceeding to the consideration of the subject, when I refused to withdraw.

"7. Their decision yesterday to return my certificate, without giving any valid reason, is also contrary to rule.

"Having now been resident in West Cornwall Monthly Meeting for more than a year, you will see that I am properly a member here. I am not resident in Brighthouse Monthly Meeting, nor can you communicate with me direct, as they can. I would therefore suggest that your right course will be to send my certificate to West Cornwall again, asking that Monthly Meeting to pay some attention to the rules and Discipline of the Society of Friends by appointing a Committee to visit me on the receipt of my certificate, in the usual orderly way; and, if they have anything against me, to deal with me direct.

Edward Pickard."

Tregelles wrote a similar letter to Darlington Monthly Meeting, of which meeting he is still a member, containing a fuller and more detailed list of West Cornwall Monthly Meeting's breaches of Discipline, together with the following statement of fact specially applicable to his own case, "I must be allowed to draw your attention to the fact, that West Cornwall Monthly Meeting were quite prepared to accept the certificates of my parents and the rest of their family, making me the only exception. Strange procedure! for without my assistance my parents and family would not have been able to come into this Monthly Meeting. This appears to me to be unequal or unjust treatment, and I cannot bring myself to believe that it is the final decision of West Cornwall Monthly Meeting."

Both Brighouse Monthly Meeting and Darlington Monthly Meeting decided to take no further action in the matter at that time, retaining Pickard and Tregelles as members with them until such time as West Cornwall should view the matter in a different light. It should be stated that the decisions of Warwickshire, Brighouse, and Darlington Monthly Meetings respectively, to proceed no further in pressing the certificates upon West Cornwall, were taken under protest, that is, they all considered that West Cornwall Monthly Meeting had acted unconstitutionally in returning them without giving any adequate reason for doing so.

While this tug-of-war was going on between the Quaker-Jews and the three young Quakers at Flushing, the other young Friends, particularly those with a leaning for modern ideas, were being interested and occupied by the Manchester Conference, wherein a previously unknown latitude was allowed for the ventilation of views. As Fox expressed it at the time, two apparently opposite phases of opinion were being kept up in the Society, "each of them resulting in mere talk—so as to keep the young people amused, fooling their time away, and satisfied with things as they are. Fancy 'servants' holding endless meetings and committees to discuss the propriety, the methods, and the right time of cleaning the rooms of a house, and never doing them! It would be simply absurd; yet this is what the young people of the Society are 'encouraged' to 'do!' (As to 'the propriety' there can be no doubt about that. As to 'the methods,' the simplest way is generally the best. As to the 'right time,' the sooner the better.)"

It will doubtless have been observed by this time, that the work of the Hat Crusaders in the Society of Friends is the same as their work in the Church of England, and that the opposition they meet with in the two organisations is strikingly of the same nature. Jesuitical "Friends" are found uniting with jesuitical "Churchmen," and the Impotent League coming in on the top,



to quench real Quakers and real Churchmen—Protestant Englishmen, who will submit to no popery or priestly rule of darkness, but claim freedom to do right and to free the world from spiritual stagnation and slavery. The close parallel between the opposition to the "Hat Crusade" within the Society of Friends, and that within the Church of England, and between the obstacles it has to overcome in both, may here with advantage be noticed. First and foremost in both is the Conspiracy of Silence, the principal modern method of resistance to change, a method which is not broken through by the more astute, except by force of unavoidable necessity. This may be called the drowning of living words in silence. Keep things dark, take no notice, don't answer letters, don't even read them if it can be avoided, trust to the power of sleep and inertia to cover unpleasant things with the black pall of oblivion. But silence by itself is not sufficient. Hence we find living words choked and stifled in an expressionless chant on the one hand, and mumbled or galloped through with a deadly monotony on the other. The Church of England professes to base its authority and power upon the great principles of Christianity, and as an institution traces its origin and its history to the force and virtue of those great principles. So also the Society of Friends professes to base its authority and power as an organisation upon these same principles, proclaimed and suffered for by its founders two hundred years ago. In both cases the resistance to the "Hat Crusade," which once more appeals for authority to these principles, is based upon money-power, class interests, majorities, custom, convenience, fear, and the numberless fossilised forms of dogma and ritual which are made to drag out a galvanised existence as the props of injustice. As the Hat Crusade has progressed, it has become more and more noticeable to those engaged in it, how similar is the dividing line it accentuates in the ranks of the Church of England and of the Society of Friends. It tends to distinguish those who set principle and conscience above dogma and custom, from the interested upholders of religious darkness. One so-called "Friend," not unsupported by others, was recently setting on foot an agitation to remove all teachers from Friends' schools who would not subscribe to the Impotent creed. This "Friend," whose name is William Jones, as "Peace Lecturer" has been over the world, and at Rome was treated in a remarkably friendly manner by several Cardinals, who expressed their respect for the "Friends," and wanted to hear all about the Society, its principles and organisation. Almost everyone is familiar with W. T. Stead's advocacy of the Pope as Arbiter of the "Peace" of Europe, and the Arbitrationists in the Society of Friends in the recent congress at Rome do not seem to have shown any aversion for such a parody of the

principles of George Fox and William Penn. At the Yearly Meeting not many years ago, an invitation was received from the Archbishop of Canterbury to return to the arms of mother church. Bevan Braithwaite (then commonly known as "the Bishop of the Society of Friends"), having cordially expressed his personal attachment to the Primate of the English Church and his grateful appreciation of this benevolent proposal from (was it his spiritual superior?), got the Clerk to make out a minute, and the Yearly Meeting to acquiesce in it, to the effect that the time was not yet ripe for the consummation so benevolently desired, and so kindly brought before their notice, by Archbishop Benson. From these facts it should be evident, that to crush or drive out the Hat Crusaders from the Society of Friends was not at all unfairly described in the circular sent to the members of Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting, as an act threatening "the very existence of the Society;" for its success would but have allowed the continuance of the Society for a short time longer, as "a mere sect like all other sects," until the time was ripe for the consummation desired alike by Archbishop Benson and the "Bishop" of Rome, namely the Reunion of "Christendom" so-called under the dominion of a once more united priesthood. "A body of sterling men whose object in the world is to do good and to stand up for what is right," was, professions notwithstanding, *not* the object of this so-called "Reunion of Christendom." The statement in the above-mentioned circular was no less true than opportune, bearing as it did on the immediate case in point and on the wider issues involved, "Rome does not want such men in the world, neither do the designing priestly intriguers in the Society of Friends, who would wish to dictate to us infallibly, but without reason, on the high questions of right and wrong, and thus bring us into the sleepy and emasculating bondage from which the Society of Friends was raised up to set people free."

It now becomes necessary to go back some months from the date to which the above-narrated contest has reached, in order to recount the contemporary progress of the Hat Crusade. The day that Pickard went over from Mawes to Falmouth to attend the Eighthmonth monthly meeting, he was surprised to find, when calling in at the Free Library, a long article in the London *Echo* on a visit to Devonshire House meeting, or the head-quarters of the Society of Friends in London. After giving a picture of a go-to-sleep Firstday morning "meeting for worship" there, this article went on to compare the present dull, weak state of the Society of Friends, with its life and strength two centuries ago. It also described its middle state, in the days of Elizabeth



Fry, when it first became a wealthy philanthropic association; and practically pointed to this as the cause of its having become weaker and weaker. The writer was careful to tell his readers in what direction a genuine Quaker revival might be looked for, namely from those who wore their hats in public, refusing to have them taken off their heads, and both getting and giving plenty of strong language on the subject. This article Pickard took to be a sign of the times, showing that the public are getting rather tired of the Quaker-Jews, and almost ready to welcome real Quakers back again in their stead.

The following brief notice of a visit paid by Tregelles to Falmouth Parish Steeplehouse is a good sample of the cheap ridicule accorded so largely by press and public to things they would wish were not so serious:—

"**ECCENTRIC CONDUCT.**—A member of the Society of Friends, who has been trying to earn a little cheap notoriety by visiting churches in the neighbourhood and sitting through the service with his hat on, paid a visit to Falmouth Parish Church last Sunday morning. On this occasion he was allowed to sit unmolested, and attracted very little attention, being very generally mistaken for a 'new woman' with the latest fashion in head gear and rational garments."—*Falmouth and Penryn Times and Cornish Echo*, 5,x,'95.

An account of this same visit is reprinted below:—

### **'The Hat Crusade.**

'Edward Pickard thus writes:—

'Edwin Tregelles paid a visit last Firstday morning to Falmouth Parish Steeplehouse. On his way thither from Flushing in the ferry-boat (which was late), he was accosted by a well-dressed man who said: "You are the man who was in Truro Cathedral?" Tregelles: "It was a friend of mine; but I have been in several cathedrals." He: "Oh, then there are more of you?" Tregelles: "Yes, plenty of us." He: "I was at Truro Cathedral at that time. I don't see why a man should not wear his hat where he likes." Tregelles: "Has thou heard about the Paul's affair?" He: "Yes." Tregelles: "Thou must understand that the person who sentenced Fox to fourteen days was a Roman Catholic—not a churchman." He: "But the Roman catholic priests wear hats in their buildings, or at least caps." He went on to say that he had been brought up a Wesleyan, that he did not reckon anything to them, that religious people were all alike, and that they were always on about hell and damnation, and the hereafter, for money. As for him, he considered that we get into plenty of trouble here if we do wrong. Tregelles, pointing his hand to Falmouth all along the shore: "There are plenty of people in hell there now, miserable



for doing wrong. There is only one way out, and that is to do right."

'As he was going up the front steps into the building, three steps at a time, there were several men standing together in the street near by, and he overheard one of them say: "See! there's another job on." Tregelles walked straight in, without removing his hat (a light grey broad-brimmer, with a moderately high crown, without a band), and took his seat near the top. The performance was already on in full swing. No one took any notice, or interfered with him; so that he remained sitting, with his hat on, to the close. On going out, he found himself walking side by side down the aisle with a stout man, who soon, turning himself about to the people, exclaimed in a rage: "This building is for Christians, not for people who don't know how to behave before their God." Tregelles, calmly and deliberately: "I am a Christian." The man then turned and fled, without even stopping to put on his hat, and without giving Tregelles a chance to take his name. A man on his left hand then said: "That's done for him, sir." Tregelles: "Who's that man that spoke to me so? what's his name?" His informant did not know his name....'

—*St. Austell Weekly News; October 19, 1895.*

The following account of Pickard's second visit to Truro Cathedral is reprinted from one of the Truro papers:—

### **'THE HAT "CRUSADER" IN TRURO AGAIN.**

'Mr. Pickard, the leader of the "hat crusade," made another appearance at Truro Cathedral on Sunday morning, and shortly before the service commenced, entered the building wearing a high soft hat. He was stopped by the principal verger (Mr. Pascoe), who requested him to remove his hat. He declined to do so for "conscientious reasons," and Mr. Pascoe then recognised in him the gentleman who visited the Cathedral under similar circumstances a month or two ago. He did his best to induce him to conform to the ordinary usage, but as he persistently refused to do so, and remained standing in the aisle with his hat on, the verger eventually quietly ejected him.

'From the Cathedral Pickard went to Kenwyn, where he entered the church whilst the service was proceeding, and took a seat near the door, where he could be seen by a few members of the congregation only. He kept his hat on, but this fact was not observed by the authorities of the church until the service had nearly concluded, and then they thought it hardly worth while to disturb the congregation by drawing attention to the matter. Pickard probably left the church congratulating himself on his success; but should he pay a second visit to Kenwyn, he

will find that the authorities are no more in sympathy with his "crusade" there than they are at the Cathedral.

'Mr. Pickard sends us the following version:—Edward Pickard paid a visit last Firstday morning to Kenwyn Parish Steeplehouse, walking 24 miles there and back from his residence at Flushing. He was half-an-hour late, for a very good reason, not of his own seeking, as will be seen presently. The place was full, so he took his seat near the bottom, without removing his hat (a broad-brimmer of a light colour with a proportionately high crown). No notice was taken of his wearing his hat, which he did to the end of the performance. The sermon was about great issues hanging on trifles. A number of instances were given, tending to show how great forces are set in motion by apparently small causes. The preacher [Archdeacon Cornish] seemed to realise the applicability of his sermon to Pickard's presence in the building wearing his hat. He looked steadfastly at him for full two minutes, before commencing his sermon, as though he were hesitating whether to preach that sermon or not. There was no kind of incivility shown to Pickard at this place, from first to last. When he left the building, the people, who were mostly of the cultured classes, all seemed very respectful.

'Before going to Kenwyn he paid a visit to Truro Cathedral. But the verger, acting, so he said, under orders from the rector of the parish, refused to let him remain in the building, and, suiting the action to the word, pushed him out of it. On first entering the building, Pickard felt a hand laid on his shoulder, to stop him from going on; but he paid no attention to this, and walked ahead. His shoulder was then forcibly grasped by the verger, with the exclamation, "Your hat!" Pickard then faced about, upon which the verger remarked, "The same gentleman!" Hesitating a moment, he asked, "Will you remove your hat?" Pickard: "Thou knows I don't."—"Will you let me remove your hat?"—"No" (emphatically).—"Will you go out?"—"No, I can't. I have a right here."—"If you don't, we shall have to do the same as before."—"That's your look out; not mine." The verger then pushed him out of the building, Pickard remarking, "This action of yours is very unwise." The following conversation then took place in the porch:—Pickard: "Does thou think that an Englishman ought to keep away from the national assembly?" Verger: "No." Pickard: "Does thou think that an Englishman ought to swallow his conscience?" Verger: "His conscience ought to keep him outside, rather than break the rules by going in." Pickard: "Then thou thinks that a conscientious Englishman ought to keep away from the national assemblies?" Verger: "Yes." Pickard: "I am not responsible for



your action in excluding me from the building." Verger: "No." Pickard: "When you have reason to regret, you won't have me to blame." Verger: "No." Pickard: "I am satisfied you have made a great mistake in shutting me out." The verger then wanted to shake hands with Pickard, as though he were ashamed of what he had done, but this Pickard refused. He then made the best of his way to Kenwyn. On his way back he met the congregation coming away from the Cathedral, who quickly recognised him, and regarded him seriously with interest and attention. By this time he was pretty well fagged out, and the remaining eleven miles back to Flushing were accomplished under difficulties.

['From the prominence which he gives to the fact that he walked 24 miles in order to cut this figure in Truro on Sunday, it would appear that Mr. Pickard wishes to pose as a martyr. If, however, he imagines that the people of Cornwall will so regard him, he will make a great mistake. So far, in fact, from sympathising with him in any way, the majority of them will be more inclined to laugh at his folly, and to apply to his proceedings the remark which he applied to the verger's—"This action of yours is very unwise." Mr. Pickard has a conscience; so have other people. If, in addition, he happens to be possessed of a semi-fanatical idea about the wearing of hats in the "National Assembly," that is his misfortune, but the fact does not establish his right to outrage the consciences of others.—ED. W.B.']

—*West Briton*; October 24, 1895.

Note to the Editor's comments above.—The prominence given to the 24 miles was not in order "to pose as a martyr," but to show that Pickard was in earnest.

The other Truro paper, reprinting the comments of a Penzance contemporary, seems to have considered that the matter was satisfactorily dealt with in the manner below:—

"Last week the veteran jokester of the *Cornishman* tried his hand on a preliminary notice of the Mayor's banquet. Yesterday he dealt thus with another Truro incident:—"One Pickard has a head so soft that it requires a hat in church. To be suitable it is a high, soft one. It ought to be one like that Mr. James Chapman the city bill-poster wears, and then it would be of service—an advertising medium. But the hat Pickardite only advertises the wearer, and he is "written down" according to his merits. Pickard, *cap-a-pie*, confronted Truro's cathedral verger on Sunday and was disrowned by that Guardian of the sanctities. Then he journeyed to picturesque, quiet Kenwyn, and sat near the door. The few who spared a minute from their prayer or praise to look at him, thought he had a cold in his head (there is certainly ample room for the cold to come, and stop there); so did not interfere.



If he peeps in at Kenwyn again he will find out whether they will allow him "to wear his beaver up."—*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 24, x.

One of the Plymouth papers, the *Western Daily Mercury*, having made the same misleading statement as is implied in the above words, "If he peeps in at Kenwyn again," Pickard at once wrote correcting the implication; but his letter was not inserted. The misleading report, and rejected letter, were as follows:—

"THE HAT TRICK AT TRURO AGAIN.

"Shortly before the commencement of service in Truro Cathedral yesterday morning, Mr. Pickard, who has earned a certain amount of notoriety for persistent endeavours to wear his hat in places of public worship during the services, appeared in the Cathedral wearing a high, soft hat. As he refused to remove it when requested, he was quietly ejected by the principal verger, Mr. Pascoe.

"With the idea of seeing whether he could indulge his 'conscientious reasons' for an objectionable practice in another quarter, Pickard went to Kenwyn Church. He occupied an obscure corner in that building, and consequently was not seen by the authorities until the service was nearing its close, and then it was considered inadvisable to create a scene by endeavouring to argue the point with him."—*Western Daily Mercury*; Oct. 22, '95.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Daily Mercury.'

"I write to correct a statement made in thy issue of today, with reference to my being at Kenwyn 'Church' last Firstday morning. Thou says that I 'occupied an obscure corner in that building, and consequently was not seen by the authorities until the service was nearing its close.' This is false. The 'authorities' must have seen me when I entered the building, as I stood some time, till one of the congregation came out of his pew to let me pass in. I did not go further up the building, as I was half-an-hour late, having already been to Truro Cathedral. Besides which, the place was full. As to no one seeing me, the people all over the building saw me; and the preacher looked steadfastly at me for full two minutes, before commencing his sermon.

"I am in full agreement with thee that it is the 'authorities' who go about to 'create a scene by endeavouring to argue the point with' me, and that they were wise in deciding not to do so on this occasion.

"I should like to know, now I am on the subject, in what way my action can be called 'The Hat Trick.' In what way is it a trick? I refuse to be caught by the sacerdotal trick of bare-headedness. But I have no trick. It may well be called The Hat Crusade, as it is a crusade against Popery. Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 22, Tenth, '95."

Having been told by the verger both on this and the previous visit to Truro, that the Rector of the Parish and Sub-Dean of the Cathedral had given orders for his ejection, Pickard wrote the following two letters to this person (who has since removed to Wells), to neither of which has he received any reply :—

“Flushing, near Falmouth ; 21, Tenth, '95.

“To — Bourke, rector of Mary's.

“Was it by thy orders that I was yesterday morning ejected from Truro Cathedral?  
Edward Pickard.”

“Flushing, near Falmouth,  
27, Tenth, '95.

“To — Bourke, rector of Mary's, Truro.

“The absence of any reply to my inquiry of the 21st. inst. would lead me to infer that it *was* by thy orders that I was expelled from Truro Cathedral on Firstday last. Thou, however, has so far refused to tell me so thyself direct, in answer to my direct question ; and I am still left in uncertainty as to who is responsible for such an unwise proceeding.

“How is it thou has not answered my letter? Are thou too cowardly to do so? The word '*rector*' means *ruler*, or *righter*. (A ruler is a righter. He sets wrong things right. Else he is no ruler.) Hence thou, who calls thyself a '*rector*,' ought to be in haste to set this matter right. Instead of which, thou does, to all appearance, absolutely nothing. How is this? Are thou afraid to show thy hand? Or ashamed? Which is it? It seems to me that it must be one of the two, unless thou art ill. And the newspapers seem to say otherwise.

“Does thou still refuse to answer my question—Who is responsible, thyself, or Gott, for turning me out of the cathedral? I say, 'Gott,' advisedly ; for I cannot imagine what business a bishop, who professes to be a shepherd, should have with turning a Christian out of doors. What sort of shepherding is this?

“It is well known all over England, and nearly all over the world, that Quakers wear their hats, as a matter of conscience, in public buildings, and in the presence of persons in authority, not excepting even the greatest sovereigns. It is Popery that takes a man's hat off. Thou and thine are Papists in trying to enforce such an odious and ignominious rule.

“Mind you don't go too far, or you will be rousing such a hornet's nest about your ears, that the church as by law established, instead of being reformed, as it deserves to be, will come crumbling to its base. That will not be my fault, but yours.

“There are millions in this country of the stock of the martyrs ; and it is not likely that they will placidly see things going back to barbarism and anarchy (which is what absence of conscience

involves) without putting in a spoke. When such are aroused, heavy will be the retribution upon those who, instead of standing in their places for right as they are paid to do by the nation, truckle to Rome, and thus reintroduce what is practically anarchy and barbarism.

"The verger, who pleaded thy authority for expelling me, was evidently ashamed of what he had done; for he asked me to shake hands with him outside. He had to admit that your treatment of me meant excluding a conscientious Englishman from the National Assembly. I leave it for thee, for Gott, or for any others who may be responsible for ejecting me, to consider what this means. If you succeed in driving away men of conscience, and teaching people to disregard their consciences, you will have to deal with people who have no conscience. Edward Pickard.

"p.s. Enclosed cutting from an old newspaper [an account of a "Burglary at Penzance" in *Western Daily Mercury* of 2, Fourth, 1894], which happens to lie on my table, shows what ruthless sneaks people become by the absence of conscience."

The following is the account of Tregelles' visit to Gluvias (Penryn) Parish Steeplehouse, as sent to the press:—

### **'The Hat Crusade.**

'Edward Pickard writes:—

"Edwin Tregelles paid a visit last Firstday morning to Penryn Steeplehouse. Going up the yard, he noticed a school of boys, bare-headed outside the building. Tregelles entered the building eight minutes before the performance commenced, and took his seat at the top, without removing his hat (a broad-brimmed). Scarcely five minutes had elapsed before the vicar came up and said, "Will you remove your hat?" Tregelles: "No. It is not my custom." Vicar: "I shall have to remove it then." Tregelles: "Thou must not touch my hat." Vicar: "Well, then, I shall have to have you removed." Tregelles: "That would be illegal." Vicar, again: "Will you take your hat off?" Tregelles: "No." Vicar: "Then we shall have to send for a policeman." Tregelles: "That is your look out. If you do, you will be breaking the law of England." Vicar, going away: "You must behave decorously here." He then walked down the aisle, and, after a short consultation, returned with one of the wardens and an assistant. The warden came up and said, "I, as a magistrate, order you to take off your hat." Tregelles: "Thou cannot. It is against the law of England. I am an Englishman, and have a right here." Warden: "Never mind the law. It is the rule of this church. Come out;" snatching off Tregelles's hat, and keeping it out of his reach. Tregelles said, "That is my hat. Leave it alone." At the same



moment, they dragged him out of his seat, and quickly pushed him down the aisle, in spite of his holding himself back as well as he could. On the way, an old man, who seemed to have forgotten where he was, called out, "That's it. Take him out. Take the man out." As soon as they had reached the porch, and were out of the view of the public, they pushed him out, down the steps, in a most indecorous, not to say disgusting manner. Tregelles immediately turned to regain his hat, which was handed to him. At the same time he asked the warden, "What is thy name?"—"Never mind my name. We won't let you wear your hat here." Tregelles repeated several times: "I must have thy name;" but the warden would not give it; and withdrew into the building, leaving his assistant with orders to keep Tregelles out. Tregelles then asked the people present, "What is that man's name?" One of them replied, "The Warden." Tregelles: "That is not his name. I want his name." Someone then called out, "The Mayor of Penryn." Tregelles was then pushed further down the path; but returning, again entered the porch. Upon this the warden's assistant shut the door, and blocked the way with his body. While they were here, Tregelles said to the warden's deputy, "Thou wilt remember this affair. Thou'll be sorry to have had a hand in such rude, unchristian work." He laughed, and said, "I'll go home, and have a good dinner. It'll be all right." Tregelles: "Thou speaks like an animal."

Tregelles stood close up to the door, ready to enter on its being opened; but was rudely forced back by the man in charge of it. This man endeavoured to frighten Tregelles into leaving the porch, and, amongst other threats, said, "You'll get locked up, if you don't go away at once. You are keeping the people out of church. This is disturbance. Be quiet, and go away, or you'll get into trouble." Finding all his attempts to intimidate Tregelles of no avail, he pushed him out of the porch, and with the aid of others got him down to the lych-gate, where a number of them remained to keep him from coming back. One of these said, "I should think nothing of helping you out of the place. You're not so heavy as all that;" another, "I could shift you out much easier than a sack of flour." After some minutes of this sort of talk, policeman 26 arrived, and took up a position inside the gate. Tregelles asked him what he had come for. To this he replied, "Oh, I am quite harmless." He nevertheless stayed in the lych-gate, to prevent Tregelles from re-entering the steeplehouse. One of the onlookers, who was blocking the path, said, "No one else is allowed to wear his hat in this church, and it isn't likely that you, a perfect stranger, should be allowed to do what we aren't." Another, a young man, could say nothing but, "You must take your hat off, the same as we do." To which Tregelles

replied, "I do as I see right."

'Some of the bystanders tried to ridicule Tregelles in various ways; but one of their number, who showed signs of culture and refinement, stopped this, telling them to let him have a chance to argue his case. The conversation now mostly devolved on this person, with occasional remarks from the steeplehouse guardians and their friends. Amongst other things, he said (pointing to a building on the opposite hill), "Why don't you go to the Wesleyans?" Tregelles: "I have not the same right to go in there with my hat on. It is a private building. This is a national one."—"You are wrong there. We paid £3,900 to restore it in 1883." Here, the official in charge interposed with, "You had better go away, or you'll get into trouble." Tregelles, continuing the argument: "These buildings are the nation's. The bishops sit in the House of Lords. The book called the Prayer Book was published by order of the government."—"But who pays for this place? Not the State." Here, a man called out, "You have not paid a penny to this place. What right have you here?" The polite opponent asked Tregelles, "Why don't you go to Gerrans, or Falmouth, if they allow you to sit with your hat on? You're simply seeking notoriety. Why come here, where hat-wearing is not allowed?" Tregelles: "The law of England is the same here as at Gerrans. Besides, you welcome strangers."—"Yes, if they take their hats off." At this point, the constable, who had culled the facts from his official neighbour, said, "You went and sat in a 'faculty pew.'" Tregelles: "What's that?" Constable: "The Mayor's pew." Tregelles: "The Mayor was not in it." Constable: "Never mind. You know the Mayor was quite right in turning you out of his seat, apart from your having your hat on." Tregelles: "The Mayor was not using it. If it were my seat, and a well-behaved stranger entered it, I should be glad to let him do so." The polite opponent: "But why be so conspicuous? You need not sit right up in front." Tregelles: "I believe in going to the front. I am not doing wrong, and have nothing to be ashamed of." Tregelles, becoming impatient at being kept out of the place so long, said, "What the dickens do you mean by keeping me out here?"—"Oh, dear, dear! you can't be a Quaker, you saying 'dickens!'" Constable to Tregelles: "Go away quietly. You can't come in." Forthwith the cluster of men followed the officials and constable to the porch, Tregelles accompanying. Constable, standing in the entrance: "You'll get locked up, if you don't go away quietly." Here they began to make out that Tregelles could not be a Quaker, as he was not at "meeting," and did not always say "thou" to them. But he, having come there to attend their meeting, did not say much on this matter, but told them they should let him in. The constable

now put in a spoke: "You are still disturbing the congregation, as we are part of it. We might be in now, but for you." Tregelles: "Why do you stay outside? You know well enough that I shall not disturb the congregation." The official, and the constable, advancing close up to him: "Look here; go away, or we shall have to get orders from the churchwardens to lock you up." Official: "If the old Archdeacon had been alive, you'd have been cleared out of this yard long ago, and locked up. He didn't allow anyone to stay in the yard 'during service.' Go away; you can't come in." The polite man then tried to show that Tregelles was not a real Quaker, adding, "John Elliott of Liskeard was a consistent 'Friend,' the most respected 'Friend' in all Cornwall, and he wouldn't have thought of such a thing as you are doing." Tregelles: "'Would not *do* it,' say rather; as plenty of Quakers have *thought* of doing so."—"Why don't you respect the congregation?" Tregelles: "I respect men, as far as they can be respected. I don't respect a drunken man; nor a man who does wrong. How can you expect me to respect you, unless you behave better than to drag and push me about like this?" Tregelles again made a move to enter the porch; but the policeman planted himself in the way, with his helmet on. Tregelles, to official: "I suppose the porch isn't 'holy'?"—"Oh, yes," said he; "but we don't force people's hats off, unless they enter the door." Here, the controversialist tried to persuade Tregelles that he had no ground to stand on; that this was not "the original church," it having been restored; and so on. He went on to say, "We used to have a better church in the valley, belonging to a Benedictine monastery, until that wretched Henry the Eighth pulled it down and took the proceeds for his own use." Tregelles: "I am going in."—"No, you are not," said the constable and official together, taking care to stop the entrance. Tregelles, having asked them if this was final, and again told them they were breaking the law, took his departure.'

—*St. Austell Weekly News*; November 30, 1895.

Note.—At Gluvias (Penryn) Parish Steeplehouse, while the officials professed as reported above that it was not a national but a private building, they were at that very time celebrating "Mayor's Sunday," the chief magistrate of the town coming in his official capacity to show that the Church of England was part of the government of England; and not only so, but the Mayor himself said to Tregelles: "I, as a magistrate, order you to remove your hat." It should also be noted in this connection, that it is now becoming a common practice, when the mayor of a town is a Dissenter, for the members of the governing council to accompany him in their official capacity to the chapel he is accustomed to attend, thus claiming for even the dissenting



places of assembly a part in the government of the country, and showing that, though to a less marked extent, they are public not private buildings. This double tendency, on the one hand the officials of the Established Church claiming the national buildings to be private property, and on the other hand the Dissenters claiming for their places a share in the government of the country, constitutes a serious menace to the nation and its government, inasmuch as by this means the priests of all sects, including the Roman Catholics as well as those so-called "English Catholics" who go about to make the national church into a mere sect among other sects, are insidiously recovering the ascendancy they held in this country before the Reformation, and re-asserting in the same breath their determination to control public affairs and to claim immunity for themselves from public control. The attempt in the above altercation to make the national houses of assembly the private property of those who financed the building of them, and therefore to place the Church of England more than ever before at the disposal of the moneyed classes, should not be lost sight of; as also the attempt to make out that one man has no right to do better than others.

A brief notice of the above incident appeared in one of the Plymouth papers, as under:—

#### "THE HAT CRUSADE.

"At St. Gluvias Church, Penryn, yesterday morning, a respectably-dressed man, whose name is unknown, took his seat in the sacred edifice and kept his hat on. The Vicar, the Rev. A. A. Vaudrey, B. A., and the churchwardens asked him to remove it, but he declined. Mr. John Enys, a churchwarden, then removed the hat from the man's head, and with the Mayor, Mr. W. James, ejected the individual from the sacred edifice. Outside the church a controversy ensued between the man and the officials as to the legality of their action. He is supposed to be the same person as recently acted in a similar manner at Kenwyn Church and Truro Cathedral." —*Western Daily Mercury*: November 18, 1895.

Note.—The Vicar, the Mayor, and John Enys, were all three magistrates.

A fortnight after his visit to Gluvias, Tregelles had a similar rencontre at Mylor, where the same method was pursued, of a steeplehouse-warden "as a magistrate" ordering him to remove his hat or leave the building. The following is the account sent to the press, but not inserted:—

#### 'The Hat Crusade.

'Edward Pickard writes:—

'Edwin Tregelles paid a visit last Firstday morning to Mylor

Parish Steeplehouse. He entered the building before the affair had commenced, and took his seat at the top, without removing his hat. Presently, a young man, evidently an official, came to him and asked him to remove his hat. On Tregelles declining to do so, he started a conversation, in the course of which he said that Jesus conformed to the customs of his day. Tregelles admitted that "he conformed to some of them—the good ones. But when Jesus drove people out of the temple, was that conforming to custom? I am sitting quietly, driving no one out; yet you want to turn me out."

'The next person to appear on the scene was the vicar. He asked Tregelles if he wished to stay and hear the service, who replied: "Yes." Vicar: "Well, you must remove your hat first." Tregelles: "I do not take off my hat anywhere, unless I see fit." He: "Then you must go out." Tregelles: "No; I have a right here. Besides, this is my parish." He: "I shall get the churchwardens to remove you. You are a scandal to God's people." Which said, the vicar hurried off, and returned immediately with two men, one of whom said, in a peremptory tone: "I am a magistrate. I order you to go out, unless you remove your hat." Tregelles: "I have a right here. Thou has no law for removing hats." He: "Never mind. You must come out," at the same time pulling Tregelles out of his seat, assisted by the other official. Having dragged him off his seat, and out of the pew, they hustled him down the aisle, to the entrance. Arrived there, he asked the magistrate his name, who said: "Oh, yes. You can have my name. Colonel Tremayne." Leaving his assistant (an old naval man), with orders to "keep the man out," the colonel returned into the building.

'Tregelles endeavoured, in vain, to show the two guardians of the door (the naval man and the verger) that they ought to let him in. One of them tried to show cause for his action in helping to push Tregelles out in such a rude fashion. But all he could say was, that it was their custom to turn people out for not removing their hats. He did not profess to know why they did it. As there were several women waiting to go in, Tregelles remarked, "Thou lets these people in with their hats on."

'Later on, the naval man said: "When you are in Rome, you must do as the Romans do." Tregelles: "Would thou have me grovel on the ground, kneel to the Pope, and do a host of other degrading acts that they do at Rome?" He: "Oh! No. I hope you would be more of a man." Tregelles: "Yet thou wants me to remove my own hat before coming in here." He: "Yes; those are my orders. I am sorry to have to keep such a man as you out; but I am forced to. I am only a servant."

'Tregelles then went round to another door; but one of

the officials blocked the way in, and tried hard to persuade him to take a 'nice walk,' or 'go home to a good dinner." Tregelles (emphatically): "I am not a pig; and am not always thinking of dinner;" at which the man apologised. Tregelles next went round to a third door; but the naval man on guard forestalled him, doggedly barring the way with his body. When Tregelles pressed forward to reach the door-handle, his sturdy opponent pushed him back some distance from the door, exclaiming: "It's a good thing for you, I'm here. If you had got in this door, I believe the people would have set on you and pulled you to pieces; any way you'd have been half-killed; as you would go straight into Colonel Tremayne's pew." Tregelles: "Nonsense; the people aren't so barbarous as all that. Let me in. I am not afraid of Colonel Tremayne or anyone else." He: "If you did get in, the Colonel would give it you heavy when you were brought up before him. He wouldn't want any witnesses. He'd be his own witness. So you may be very thankful he's put me here to keep you out. I should be glad to let you in, as far as I am concerned; but I have my orders, and I shall not move away. I am an old sailor, and have fought in the Crimea, at the battles of the Alma, Balaclava, Inkermann, and Sevastopol. It is not likely that I shall let you pass. I have faced cannon. Nothing but a cannon ball will shift a sailor, when he has once received his orders to stay in a certain place. You see I am blockading the ports against the enemy." Tregelles: "But I am not an enemy." He: "No, sir! no, sir! you are all right." Tregelles: "Then why not let me in?" He: "My orders are not to."

'While these various attempts to enter were being made, a number of men were walking about in the grave-yard, taking their observations. But soon, becoming more interested, they collected together in a group, and began discussing the situation. One of them, who appeared to be more clear-minded than the rest, exclaimed indignantly: "They've no right to turn the man out. He's not disturbing. I don't see why he should not wear his hat, if he chooses." This opinion was re-echoed by several of the company. Tregelles could not stay to hear how the argument went, as he had to try the main entrance once more. So, leaving the side door, he was off round to the front; but the man on guard caught him by the shoulder, and tried hard to persuade him to go home, saying he hoped Tregelles would bear him no ill-will, as he was only acting under orders. He did not, however, attempt to turn him out of the porch; only preventing him from entering the building. While in the porch, Tregelles told the naval man that he could not be expected to get in through the windows. "No! Sir," said he. "You have done your best. But I daren't let you in." Finding no likelihood of attaining his



purpose, Tregelles decided to depart, after being on the ground for more than an hour.

On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Carlyle, a great meeting was held in London about the purchase of his house in Chelsea. John Morley, who presided, made the statement in his speech, that he supposed nobody now living would have read through Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*; which statement elicited "Laughter" from the audience, apparently the "Laughter" of approval, the so-called Carlyle memorialists readily echoing the hint thus thrown out that his greatest work was not worth reading *through*. Tregelles, who had not only considered it worth reading through, but had read it through twice, wrote to John Morley to correct this misstatement, which he considered disparaging to the great writer they had met together professedly to honour:—

"Flushing, near Falmouth,  
13, Twelve, '95.

"To John Morley.

"The *Times* of the 5th. inst. contains a report of an address of thine at the 'Carlyle Centenary,' in which thou said, 'I should doubt whether anybody now living has read through the whole of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*.'

"After reading the 21 Books through once, I thought the book was well worth a second reading. I therefore re-read every page of it carefully, making notes as I went along.

"The impression left on my mind was, that I should be much puzzled to decide who was the greater, Frederick or Carlyle. One could not help admiring the latter's hearty entrance into Frederick's life; witness his description of the battles that Frederick was forced to fight in defence of his right to rule. The immense amount of pains that Carlyle took to visit the scenes of his hero's actions, and the trouble he went to in order to give the reader a life-like picture of the chief actor, simply astounded me, as I tried to enter into them in imagination, watching Frederick and his men anxiously from campaign to campaign.

"The above quotation seems to show that thou has a very low estimate of the English character. As a matter of fact, people are not all studying microbes. A large proportion of English readers prefer a literature that requires thought.

Edwin Tregelles."

Note.—The reference to "microbes" in the above letter was due to the glorification of science in John Morley's address. It is curious that while praising science, which of all things professes to be the most thorough, he should have discouraged thoroughness in the higher branches of human literature.

About this time a scheme was being set on foot through the columns of the *Spectator* for the Society of Friends to devote its energies to civilising the negroes on the island of Pemba. It also transpired, that a section of the Society was not averse to accepting this proposal, as it offered a convenient safety valve for those energies, which at any time might if not fully occupied take to the continuance of the work for which the Society of Friends was originally formed. The following letter to the Editor of the *Spectator* refers to this scheme, as well as to other matters which Fox thought not in accordance with the character of what he had hitherto considered to be a serious, deliberate, almost weighty paper:—

"Flushing, near Falmouth,

"To the Editor of the '*Spectator*.' 8, First, '96.

"Hang it!—all this talk in thy correspondence columns (the *Spectator* too of all papers!) about Dogs and other animals.\* Is that all thy readers are capable of? Give the Dog a bad name and hang it, do. I don't care to think of the *Spectator* being so childish.

"What's this about Pemba and Friends? Does thou think Friends are so far gone, that that is all they are fit for—to what is called 'civilize' the negro,—to put him into trousers, give him a turn-down collar with a bit of blue ribbon in it, and send him to 'meeting' to sit still and think about the changes he has undergone? True, it would divert 'Friends' from paying so much attention to the 'Peace' Society (Peace indeed! What sort of Peace?) just now.

"You (—thou and thy staff) seem to me to be rather too warlike. War should not be entered upon unless there is distinctly an aristocracy of talent to take the lead in case of reverses. We don't want to be plunged into Socialism in *any* form as the result of a war. Things are far too Socialistic to my mind already. It is therefore well that we should be careful to know what we are doing before we go and do it.

"If we had a great war (and who knows whether a little one would now stop at being that?) it would not involve merely commercial interests. Others would have to be decided as well. It would mean a great and a rude shake-up. Perhaps no one would wish that things should remain exactly as they are at present. But, even admitting this, it is quite another thing to say in which particular groove they should hereafter run. I confess I don't like leaving such matters to chance—not even the chances of war; but should much rather see changes wrought intelligently in the natural processes of development.

Samuel Fox.†

"p.s. This letter is not for publication. (It is not about dogs, nor is it *doggerel*.)

"\* The *Spectator* of 30, xi, '95 has one letter on Animal Stories, two long ones on the Habits of Rooks, three on Dog Stories, one on the Sagacity of Bears, besides some doggerel on a Robin!

"† Thou may remember that I sent thee some years ago an unfinished and rather crude poem on War (War Done and Work Undone), which thou courteously returned. It had fourteen verses and a chorus; but it was not doggerel—bah! no."

An extract from a letter to his father a day or two later sheds additional light on Fox's meaning in the above letter:—"A most ridiculous idea, to think that Friends are so far gone as to entertain the idea of civilizing the blacks, or of giving them the means to compete with the whites. Friends ought not to meddle with such matters. It is the wrong end of the stick of that great idea of equality they came into the world to preach, namely, that good is on an equality with good, be it small or large. But this stupid idea of equality, which is at work in their adult schools, and has been secretly at work undermining the Society for long, is the stupid idea that bad equals good. By fostering this wicked idea, Friends are giving away their position in the world, and losing the goodness they once possessed. It is no flattery to have Pemba offered us by the *Spectator*, or the conservative party behind it. The Society of Friends has been long enough acting the part of the jackal to the commercial system of England. Commercial men, who now form a very large portion of the conservative party (and ditto of the liberal), think the Society of Friends may continue so doing to advantage. They have got certain refractory negroes who won't work, in the island of Pemba; will the Society please step in and make them? The Society succeeds by putting them into trousers, giving them a turn-down collar, with a bit of blue ribbon in it, sending them to meeting, and telling them they are converted. All very pretty so long as the novelty lasts. The commercial men make their big haul. But afterwards the negroes get a sense of their own importance, begin to migrate, and are soon found competing with the whites on their own ground. You may say, Why shouldn't they? Because the thing is wrong in principle: it's the wrong way to rise in the world. Doesn't thou think so?"

The following letter, which appeared in one of the local papers, refers to a visit paid one evening to Flushing by the "Salvation Army" from Falmouth. The strong language used in reference to this, and to the month-long monotony of the "Christmas carols," which have degenerated into mere money-making and a spiritless form of dissipation, and are most demoralising to the children and depressing to lovers of harmony,



was directed against those anarchic influences so destructively diffused nowadays under the garb of religion. As the writers of the letter subsequently explained to the Editor of the *Falmouth Packet*, "We feel very strongly against Anarchic Demonstrations of any kind, and especially against those carried on under the garb of religion. Anything, however bad, is allowed to pass freely under the garb of religion. Hence our writing strongly on this occasion."

"A COMPLAINT FROM FLUSHING.

"To the Editor of the *Falmouth Packet*.

"A disgusting nuisance made its appearance in Flushing this evening about half-past seven, and paraded the streets as though it had full charge of the town, and as though no such thing as authority were existent in the place. It is the first time so great an abomination has occurred since our arrival and residence in Flushing. The so-called carols have been bad enough in all conscience; one of the principal residents of the place told us that if they came pestering him again he should throw a bucket of water over them, which certainly might have the effect of bringing them to their senses. But this great, blatant and most unmusical hurly-burly is ten times worse, with its accompaniment of shrieks and yells, and its mob of people in a state of semi-delirium or distraction surging backwards and forwards, up and down the streets. It would be comparatively bearable if it were the drill-sergeant parading the streets for recruits, for in that case, being military, it would be transacted in daylight, it would be music, and it would also be conducive to discipline. Besides which, the bandmaster would have more sense than to outrage the sensibilities of the inhabitants by producing a combination of discord and nonsense. We should be sorry to see the nation plunged into war. At the same time, we do not see the force of being at the mercy of a so-called Army. Samuel Fox.

"Flushing,

"28, First, 1896.

Edward Pickard.

Edwin Tregelles."

—*Falmouth Packet*; February 1, 1896.

That the recent developments of the Hat Crusade in Cornwall had not been unnoticed in London, will be evident from the article reprinted below from the *Pall Mall Gazette* :—

"THE WEARING OF THE HAT.

"THE London County Council has decided not to 'ape the manners of Parliament.' For weeks the General Purposes Committee solemnly pondered the matter, but at last they recommended that hats should continue to be off, and the Council promptly assented to this self-denying ordinance by a vote of 61 to 45.

Lord Onslow declined on behalf of the Moderates to make a party question of 'a natural infirmity like a bald head,' and even Mr. Crooks, Labour member as he is, forgot the moral effect once produced at St. Stephen's by Mr. Keir Hardie's simple cap and still feebly maintained by Mr. Burns's 'bowler,' and protested against the threatened spectacle of a motley array of all sorts and conditions of headgear. It was very self-denying of the Council, especially as the draughts which pervade its chamber emphasize the reason which has most weight at Westminster and places where they wear their hats, the reason which accounts for the miller's white hat in the riddle. Possibly the Council did not feel itself entitled to share in the second main reason which influences M. P.s, that they have a certain dignity to maintain and desire to stand upon their rights (they also desire not to sit upon their hats, but that is by the way). The hat-wearing of the British Commons may have a utilitarian origin, though some aver that it is a heritage from the open-air moots of early English history. But it is equally certain that it is as a privilege, and not merely as a sanitary precaution, that it is cherished. A curious exemplification of this occurs in the trial of Sergeant Maynard in January, 1656-7. He was allowed to sit on a chair and wear his hat, and the reason assigned for this indulgence was 'because he was a Member of Parliament.' We find a record that members wore their hats at the end of the previous century; for Yelverton, when elected Speaker, 'blushed and put off his hat, and after sate bareheaded.' Even the Speaker often retained his hat, and a German visitor chronicles that in 1782 he saw Mr. Speaker with his hat on over his wig. It is hardly necessary to observe that Mr. Speaker's hat was not a modern 'stove-pipe.' But, even though individual members, such as Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Balfour (whose favourite attitude, among other things, would not be good for a hat), may habitually neglect to exert their privilege, the House jealously refuses to extend it to others. When James Naylor was summoned to its bar in 1656, he came with his hat on, but the Speaker ordered its removal; and foreigners have noted that, whereas members wear their hats, the strangers in the gallery would be expelled for doing so.

"It is not necessary to indulge in a Teufelsdröckhian excursus on the significance of the hat; to dwell on crowns and tiaras and mitres and cardinals' hats and busbies and so-forth, to speak of Gesler, or to notice how the same tendency which made our ancestors recognise supreme wit in 'Who's your hatter?' is still found going strong in our own, 'Where did you get that hat?' The fact that men do value the right to be covered, speaks for itself. Scottish advocates used to signalize their admission to the bar by a Latin address, and by wearing their hats for a full

minute, just to show that they had a right to remain covered before the bench, a right which was said to date from the time when Sir Thomas Hope's two sons were elevated to the bench while the father still remained at the bar. And the privilege of remaining covered in the presence of the Sovereign was jealously preserved by the De Courcys, the Forresters, and the Masters of Trinity College, Cambridge. Henry VIII seems to have bestowed this privilege upon faithful subjects pretty frequently. Among other instances we find the case of Dr. Gwent, who was Prolocutor of the Convocation which considered the validity of the marriage with Anne of Cleves ; and the case of Walter Copinger, of Buxhall. The document wherein the right was conferred upon the latter is worth quoting at length, to show the solemnity of the favour. 'Henry by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all men our own subjects, as well of the spiritual pre-eminence and dignities as of the temporal authority, these our letters hearing and seeing, and to every of them greeting. Whereas we be credibly informed that our trusty and well-beloved subject Walter Copinger is so diseased in his head that without his great danger he cannot be conveniently discovered of the same. In consideration whereof we have by these presents licensed him to use and wear his bonnet upon his said head, as well in our presence as elsewhere at his liberty. Wherefore we will command you and every of you to permit and suffer him so to do, without your challenge, disturbance, or interruption to the contrary as you and every of you tender our pleasure. Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich the 26th day of October in the 4th year of our reign.—Henry R.'

"Similar regard for dignity to some extent accounts for the wearing of hats in church, which was so usual in Pepys's day, that he writes : 'To church and heard a simple fellow on the praise of church musique and exclaiming against men wearing their hats on in the church,' and which finally died out in Cornwall only about fifty years ago. There is a gentleman who has tried to revive it both in London and in Cornwall within the last year or so ; but the police-courts are not sympathetic with that gentleman. That it was due partly to a desire to maintain the wearer's dignity is shown by the indignation aroused when Bachelors, undergraduates, and even apprentices attempted to share in the Masters' prerogative of sitting covered in St. Mary's, Oxford ; and by the case of two earls, who persisted in wearing their hats during sermon-time at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, whereat the preacher 'went out of the church discontent.' William III created great scandal by persistently putting on his hat for the sermon. Therein we discern the second reason ; for, though it was usual for men to uncover for prayer, the beginning



of the sermon was the signal for a resumption of hats. It prevented the preacher from fancying himself too much. Again, it was convenient for Cranfield, James I's Lord Treasurer, to be able to hide his eyes under his hat, while the preacher declared that 'the man that makes himself rich and his master poor, he is a fit Treasurer for the Devill.' Of the 'Church Papist' we are told that 'if he be forced to stay out a sermon, he puts his hat over his eyes and frowns out the houre.' A hat was just the thing to frown (or sleep) out an hour under. These were great advantages, but there were others. Puritans liked the custom after it began to be voted irreverent, because that was just what they wanted to be. Alderman Pury, of Gloucester, we find, gained great popularity in 1639 by wearing his hat while everybody else uncovered; and Thomas Zachary held that to remain covered before the consecrated bread was an excellent way to flout idol-worship. In the East, again, people cover their heads because they are shaved, and a bald head is not solemn enough for a place of worship; also it attracts flies. Both these reasons doubtless had weight in England, where the old hoods and bonnets must have made a brave show. But in 1587 hats came in, and the hat was not lovely; and this, one authority tells us, was why the practice of being covered in church went out. Our æsthetic ancestors sacrificed every consideration to that, and bore even the draughts with equanimity.

"For we cannot get away from the importance of these draughts to our subject, specially plead as we may. They explain what would otherwise be inexplicable, the custom of wearing hats indoors, before ladies, and even at dinner, a practice proved up to the hilt by illustrations and quotations. Strict etiquette, indeed, required that you should not put on your hat upon sitting down until your host had put on his, and that you should take it off if he spoke to you or proposed your health, or if you rose before the others. Yet there was the practice, in spite of all these palliations, and Pepys incidentally reveals the reason to us. The dear old fellow caught a terrible cold, he tells us, 'by flinging off my hat at dinner, sitting with the wind in my neck.' Let us hope that Lord Onslow will not catch another."

—*Pall Mall Gazette*; February 10, 1895.

The above article caused Fox to write the following letter, which, however, does not seem to have been inserted by the Editor:—

"Flushing, near Falmouth,  
12, Second, '96.

"To the Editor of the 'Pall Mall Gazette.'

"A friend of mine in London has sent me the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of 10th. inst., containing the article on 'The Wearing of the Hat.'

"Allow to make a few remarks upon it.

"1. Parliament keeps on its hat, because every member *as such* is equal to, that is, not below the king. It is not a matter of convenience.

"2. You speak of a 'Mr.' Crooks, Labour member. I would suggest Animal member as being more appropriate, the animals accomplishing much labour, for the matter of that, and not requiring to wear hats, their body being of as much or *more* value than their head. 'Mr.' Crooks should on no account wear *his* hat when he seats himself amongst men.

"3. I should think that the L. C. C. ought to 'have a certain dignity to maintain,' in spite of the presence of its Animal members. These latter might be trained to wear their hats in course of time.

"4. The 'motley array of all sorts and conditions of headgear' objected to, merely means objecting to rank. Obviously those with rank and refinement will wear headgear of a more suitable kind and with more grace than others. To make them all sit bare-headed is levelling down distinctions to a degree. A man ought to be protected by his shell; though beyond that, in matters of principle, he should look out for himself and fight his own way in the world. If hat-doffing does not level distinctions enough, the next step might be—all to sit naked like savages to conduct the business of the London County Council. Steps are already being made in this direction; for what is Socialism but the stripping off shells from those that have them, to equalise the owners with those that have none?

"I could go on adding to this, but must now conclude.

Samuel Fox."

There are several other points to note in reference to the above article, the writer of which, while willing to appear to make light of the matter, evidently considers it a subject of some importance historically, and would not be surprised to find it was of importance at the present time. 1. "Ape the manners of Parliament." It should be noted that apes do not wear hats. 2. "Self-denying ordinance." No; it requires more self-denial to wear the hat than to doff it at the bidding of the majority. 3. Notice the statement that Burns's "bowler" still "feebly" maintains "the moral effect once produced" by Keir Hardie's cap; that is, the moral effect is maintained by a man wearing his own proper headgear; for doing so implies that he intends to regulate his actions by his own sense of right and wrong, and not by the whims or interests of cliques and parties. This goes to confirm the statement, so often made in these pages, that the Hat Crusade re-asserts the manhood of man, by preferring conscience to custom, convenience, or any other consideration whatsoever. 4. "Motley array of all sorts and con-

ditions of headgear." This ridiculous plea of the so-called "Labour member," in order to escape from the necessity of maintaining any moral effect in that capacity, is only after all an evidence of snobbishness. It seems it was quite beyond his moral capacity to hold his own against a more expensive or more fashionable headgear. When the hats are removed, however, there is still the "motley array" of heads, some black, some white, some red, others like marble, not to mention their various sizes and phrenological and physiognomical proportions. 5. Hat-wearing in the House of Commons cherished as a "privilege." More than that, a right. Probably the custom may be traced to the open-air moots of early English history. If so, the members have done right not to part with their rights and dignity as freemen by transferring their place of meeting to a covered room. 6. To "sit on a chair," and to "wear his hat," were equally marks of dignity. 7. James Naylor protested against his hat being removed, as did others of the first Quakers before the House of Commons. 8. "Not necessary" (perhaps "not quite safe" would be truer) to let the cat out about "the significance of the hat, to dwell on crowns, tiaras," &c., or "to speak of Gesler" and the immortal Wilhelm Tell. Speaking of Wilhelm Tell, a recent number of a boys' illustrated paper called *Chums* contained a scurrilous series of pictures, attempting to discredit that great Swiss hero, and to degrade him from a patriot to a mere low scamp destitute of reverence. In this vile manner would certain designing people degrade the minds of the rising generation of Englishmen. 9. "Busbies." The pope's dragoons used to wear busbies; but are not allowed to now. Why? 10. "Supreme wit" in "Who's your hatter?" So there was. A man may often be told by his hat. 11. Scottish advocates claiming the "right to remain covered." Good. "Right" is the correct word. But fancy claiming this right "for a full minute!" It doesn't appear to have been so easy, or such a "trifle." 12. Henry VIII evidently knew he was a king; so was not quite so jealous of seeing other kings about as many royalties would appear to be. "Diseased head." Probably an excuse of "Henry R.," for the sake of the pedants and flatterers about him. With all his faults, there is one thing very noticeable about Henry VIII, that he honoured and protected brave men; witness Colet, Erasmus, Cranmer, Latimer, Cromwell. In this his daughter Elizabeth was like him, and contrasts very favourably with her successor. 13. One would like to know why hat-wearing in steeplehouses "died out in Cornwall only about fifty years ago." The "Dr. Gwent" referred to above is a Welsh name, and the Tudors were also Welsh. Can it be that the Celts, in spite of their Royalist and Romanist proclivities, have been better Protestants in some things than the "Roundhead" races? 14.



"Police-courts." The plural is incorrect. Only one police-court has expressed itself against the Hat Crusade, and that through the outrageous behaviour of a Papist "Lord" Mayor. See Vol. I, pp. 1 to 10. 15. Preachers may well be allowed to "go out of the church discontent," if they cannot bear to have self-respecting men in their audience. 16. William III evidently was somewhat of a Protestant; the good tradition of his house had not died out, nor William the Silent preferred deeds to words for nothing. Some Hollanders still keep up the practice of wearing their hats in the steeplehouses. 17. "Prevented the preacher from fancying himself too much." Quite so; it prevented the preacher from fancying himself a priest. 18. Would the preacher have dared tell Cranfield this to his face in private? or to have kept his hat on in Cranfield's office? 19. "Church Papists" could afford to wear their hats in Protestant buildings; but dared they have "frowned under their hats" in those same buildings before the Reformation? 20. "A hat was just the thing to frown (or sleep) out an hour under." Is it the custom for women to frown or sleep out their hour under their hats at the steeplehouse? The same retort applies to the statement about hats not being beautiful, and hence not worn. Why are they worn by women? Or why have ugly hats? 21. Query, did people wear their hats in "churches" on the continent in Pepys' time—say in France, Austria, Italy, or Spain? 22. In what way were the Puritans irreverent? They revered God in themselves, and in other self-respecting, God-fearing men. 23. "In the East people cover their heads because they are shaved." One might as well say, "They are shaved for the sake of their headgear." But by no means all those in the East who make it a point of honour to wear their head-covering in public are shaved. Shaving the head seems to have been a very general Tartar custom; hence its introduction into China within comparatively recent times, and its presence in Turkey. The spiritually and intellectually superior races of Asia, however, the Jews, the Arabs, the Aryans of India and Persia, are not shaved races; yet they do not consider bare-headedness a sign of reverence or of good breeding any more than a Chinaman or a Turk. 24. As for the bald head not being "solemn enough," this is nonsense. It certainly is not dignified; but, judging by the wide-spread customs of religious tonsure, one would expect a bald head to have attained an extra solemnity all its own. 25. Hoods and bonnets would not make such a "brave show" as hats. It is striking that the date here given for the introduction of hats into England, should be the year before the Armada. Were hoods and bonnets wearable in a steeplehouse before the Reformation? Or did the Reformation in England cause the "brave show?" And hats came in during the reign of Elizabeth?

Cardinals' hats having gone out. And hat-wearing went out under her successor, with his "Divine right of kings" to do wrong? And when that fiction went out for a time, hat-wearing came in again. 26. Why is it "inexplicable," that men should wear hats "before ladies?" 27. Pepys—"dear old fellow"—caught a cold. Onslow deserves to catch it hot, for giving away his right, and his dignity, to please the animal members.

Fox had for some time been troubled with rheumatism in one foot, which limited his walking powers within a smaller compass than otherwise he might have accomplished, and which as the weather became colder consequently confined him more closely to the house, until, the damp of winter causing the rheumatism to grow worse, he was unable to go out at all, and could only with difficulty get up and down stairs. It next became so acute, that for days he could not bear his foot to the ground, and had to remain in bed. By the time his rheumatism had become easier, Fox was too weak to come down stairs; so that from the beginning of 1897 he was confined to his bedroom, and almost entirely confined to bed. Notwithstanding this, however, he was able to accomplish a large amount of literary work during the winter months, and even to do some type-setting for "The Hat Crusade," Vol. I. F. F. Savage, the vicar of Flushing, a man possessed of a good library and a considerable acquaintance with literature, and who was capable of conversing in an interesting manner on other subjects besides religion, paid several kindly visits, and both lent and borrowed books. Fox's aunt, previously mentioned, also came over sometimes from Falmouth, and grew more and more appreciative as she came to understand him better; while her practical good sense and honesty were no slight help and refreshment. Neither must the kindly and generous interest shown during the last six months of his life by three local medical men go unmentioned, Arthur Harris, James Blamey and George Lanyon all gladly giving their advice as to a member of their profession. Particularly is it due to George Lanyon to record the beneficial and cheering effect of his visits, his hopeful, encouraging manner, and sound common sense. About the middle of Secondmonth things took a turn very much for the worse. Tregelles was laid up with a severe attack of quinsy, and had to be isolated in a downstairs room; so that for a week or more Pickard had two invalids to attend to. At the same time Fox's throat became much worse, he was attacked by paralysis of one side of the face and blindness of one eye, and for the first time both he and Pickard gave up hopes of his recovery. On the night of the 21st.-22nd., not expecting to see another day, Fox

gave Pickard a number of last messages to deliver to particular people, together with the following general one, in accordance with the will he had some months previously executed :—"Tell whomsoever it concerns, that thou has my full authority for bringing out my books; that I have explained them carefully to thee, as to the manner in which I wish them to be done."

But the end was not to be just yet, nor in such trying conditions. To the astonishment of doctors, Fox rallied again, and pulled through another six weeks. The thrush, which had set in, disappeared, the facial paralysis was considerably overcome, and the sight returned to the blind eye. This unhopd-for change, fraught with good in many ways, was principally due to the arrival on the scene of the Good Samaritan in the person of Jessie Putt, of whom nothing had been seen since coming to Flushing, but who now, as on a previous occasion at Mawes, together with the young people of her household, proved herself to be a friend indeed, and by what became known as her angel visits prolonged his life, eased and cheered his last days, enabled him to get his affairs into perfect readiness for leaving them, and gave him the joy in the midst of his sufferings of receiving from comparative strangers Christian kindness and motherly care. To quote from a letter, of date, 3, Third, 1896, "Very unexpectedly, just when we had given up all hope of my recovery, some people not Friends but kind of artists, with whom we had some months before had a slight acquaintance, suddenly turned up on the scene without our giving them any information, and forthwith instituted a regular plan of campaign for my recovery. They would not hear of my dying, which I thought rather remarkable. They sent over a regular trained nurse (from Penryn) with their servant, along with clean blankets and pillows. At the same time, they sent custards and jellies, and a regular daily supply of meat-juice extracted by machinery from the raw meat. What on earth possessed these people to do this, is not easy to see. Any way it had results, and the results they looked for. The consequence is that I am already very much stronger." Just about this time his brother from Finsbury Park came down from London for a night or two, and exerted himself to do various little things for his comfort. His cousin Jessie Beck also sent turtle soup at regular intervals. This proved of great service, as one of his principal difficulties was to obtain sufficient nourishment to keep him alive, owing to the irritation of the throat caused by swallowing. Hence the great value of nourishment in a concentrated and digestible form. Altogether there seemed to be some hope again of Fox holding out till the warmer weather came to his aid.

There were, however, other influences, of a depressing nature, to contend with—continual straitness of funds to meet the



increased demands, letters of so-called "Friends" and "friends" written to dishearten—"the ass kicking his heels in the sick lion's face," inquiries for information about the details of his sufferings, hints that his life had been a failure and his ideas and actions mistaken because they had brought him all this suffering, attempts to extract from him in his weak condition something that might be construed into an admission of error, together with efforts to obtain the usual death-bed sayings of the religious. These efforts, however, were ineffectual in all except wearying and exhausting the sufferer. On the 22nd. of Secondmonth, Fox had plainly told his "Parents and others of the Family" the position of affairs with regard to himself, and given them to understand that with him death and life were alike serious, but that *as* he had lived *so* he was prepared to die, death having no terrors for him. "Of recent years I have thought it a hard matter to dare to live. Death is escape. I have fought a hard battle, and been pretty victorious on the whole." As a sample of how cruel words may be spoken without any intention of unkindness, by those who judge of things by mere appearance of success, and who are therefore incapable of appreciating men of Fox's calibre, a young person who had been coming to cheer him up by reading to him, had the audacity to ask: "But you don't believe in the Hat Crusade, do you? See what it's brought you to." Fox replied, that it was "a very bold thing" to try and "convert" him "at this stage of the proceedings." The severest strain that Fox was put to at this time, was a sudden visit from Charles Fox, the "Cardiff brother" referred to in Vol. I. This person, with his brass-buckled knee-breeches and general outfit in imitation of George Fox (!) made his appearance at about 10 a.m. of Third-month 14th., and walked in on the door being opened. Fox, being told of his arrival, said, "Now he's in, I may as well see him." So he came upstairs, "hatted and spurred," with the evident purpose of contending with a dying man. Wearing his hat the whole time, he reeled out cant religious phrases for half-an-hour, staring at Fox the while, apparently hoping in his weak state to overawe or mesmerise him. He spoke of "the solemnity of the occasion," "the solemnity of death," &c.; to which Fox kept repeatedly saying: "It's solemn rot—Tommy rot—Stuff—Cant,"—and told him to get rid of his imitation George Fox clothes, and of his traditionalism. Failing in his attempts to get Fox to talk *Piety Promoted* to order, C. F. tried to make him shake hands; but Fox refused, either to shake hands with him, or to be stared out by his sickly smile. He told him that they were altogether different, that he was practical, C. traditional, he "*lived* today," C. "*imitated* 200 years ago," that C.'s Quakerism was all on the outside, adding, "Thou art a Pharisee." C. F.

next tried to extort from Fox a retraction of his "views" (mentioning "Napoleon," and "the government of the country") together with an acknowledgment of C.'s having been right all along, and referred to "the Cardiff days" when Fox had spoken of "knowing the presence of the Lord" with them in their silent meetings. To this Fox replied, "I do not want *thy* 'Lord,'" ridiculed the idea of the Lord being specially present in a state of stupor, characterised the "divine presence" C. spoke of having experienced at Cardiff, as "a sort of swoon you got into," and said he did not now believe in it. Fox did not reply to a number of C. F.'s questions, because they were cant, and not real. He talked about "the soul," in an utterly soulless manner, saying it was "somewhere about" Fox. This Fox denied, telling him he had "no such soul." C. F. put out his hand all the time, trying to steal a hand-shake; but Fox kept his carefully covered up and out of reach. C. F. then appealed to Pickard, to say whether what he had been saying was not "true;" to which Pickard replied, that he had heard "plenty of stuff like that," repeating that it was "stuff." Asked again whether it were not "true," he refused to argue as to its being "true" or not, adding that it was "possible to put a lot of truisms together and make the very worst *stuff* out of them." C. F.'s last words, as he stood at the foot of the bed, were to promise Fox "pain and suffering." In this final thrust, however, no less than throughout the whole interview, Fox was more than a match for him, though terribly exhausted; replied that he was not frightened of pain and suffering; and bid C. F. "get some common sense." Pickard refused to shake hands with him, on showing him out of the door. After his departure, Fox found it necessary to write the following letter to C. F., which Pickard and Tregelles also signed, as fully endorsing its contents:—

"To Charles.

21, Third, '96.

"Thou makes the name 'Quaker' stink wherever thou comes, a most wicked and damnable thing to do. Thou hypocrite, thou whited wall.

Samuel Fox.

Edward Pickard.

Edwin Tregelles."

Once more, about the 22nd. of Thirdmonth, Fox was reduced to a very low condition, and death was expected; but once again was the end delayed, for two more weeks, by a timely visit from the same Good Samaritan mentioned above. There was not, however, enough vitality left, to pull through the low season of early Spring; and when the end came, it came from exhaustion. It will be noticed, that Fox's condition had become much worse at the commencement of the period called "Lent," and on the culminating day of that artificially accentuated season

of depression, the day called "Good Friday," he found the struggle to live a very hard one. The next morning, Seventhday, the 4th. of Fourthmonth, at about 11 o'clock, he passed away, apparently without suffering, in sleep.

Beautiful, and calm, and those of a hero of the highest mold, were the features in the coffin. One of the neighbours who came in to look, remarked feelingly: "He *must* have been a *good* man." Quite a number from Flushing, who had begun to understand that it was no common man who was spending his last months in their midst, walked all the way to Budock to attend the funeral. An artist, who came over from Falmouth to see the face after death, remarked instantly what an exceptionally broad forehead he had, what a "deep thinker" he must have been. This man unhappily could not procure the materials in time to take a plaster-cast of the features. Photographs were taken however, which it may be well at some future date to reproduce. Here, in "The Hat Crusade," the deeds and words of Samuel Fox are presented as by himself, living. The time has not yet come to publish his mortal features in their last sleep.

"Tell my parents that I pray God bless them, and he will," was the message he gave Pickard to deliver to them; and, a few weeks after the funeral, Pickard also wrote them:—"If anyone wants to know whether Samuel made any retractions at the last, of his ideas, or of the Hat Crusade, tell them he did nothing of the kind, that he died as he had lived, in the presence of God, and fighting to the end. Both he and I had some hopes he might have lived on through the Summer. But the day before he died he kept saying he did not know whether he could go on living or not. Finally he seems to have succumbed to exhaustion, and passed away peacefully without a struggle. There are those who think that Samuel ought to have said something at the last moment about his soul, or about his hopes for the future after death. Such do not know Samuel Fox. For such a man, death has no terrors. His life having been spent in bringing the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth, Heaven is his. There is no manner of doubt about this; therefore why expect him to talk about it, as if there were?" The one thing that Fox impressed upon Pickard at the last, and also upon Tregelles, was to follow and to seek after the still, small voice. "Do not be too proud to accept the little, still message, but act upon it without hesitation."

According to Fox's own strongly expressed wish, the funeral arrangements were left entirely in Pickard's hands, and were not interfered with by his Falmouth relatives, several of whom, however, attended at the graveside. His brother Fortescue wrote expressing regret that an unavoidable engagement made it impossible for him to be present. With the exception of an attempt



on the part of the "Friend" in charge of the burial ground (A. Willmore) to obtain a non-member's fee on the ground of Fox not having been a member of Falmouth Meeting, but which attempt was not persisted in, the Falmouth "Friends" acted wisely and courteously throughout the proceedings. The following appreciative Editorial appeared in the *Oxford Chronicle*, and an account of the interment a week later, as under:—

"DEATH OF SAMUEL FOX.

"Despite his notions respecting the wearing of hats in 'steeple-houses,' and the other peculiar religious ideas to which he tenaciously clung, everyone will be sorry to hear of the death of Samuel Fox. If eccentric he was also sincere, and, so far as we are aware, in no sense bigoted. One of his principal virtues was the spirit of self-sacrifice for what he believed to be right. This he possessed in an eminent degree. A member of a historic family he was himself a man of no mean ability. He was well read, and wrote clearly and admirably in simple and limpid English. The announcement of his death sent by our Charlbury correspondent does not say where Fox died—we must not use the prefix 'Mr.' in connection with him—but it was no doubt in Cornwall where he had been sojourning during the last two or three years on account of his health. He had suffered for a long period from a weak chest and lungs. Charlbury people will remember him both for the religious work he endeavoured to do among them, and also for his private worth. They will see that he also remembered Charlbury. 'Tell the Charlbury folk that I thought of them in my last moments, and should dearly have loved to be buried among them in the unconsecrated portion of ground in Charlbury Cemetery.' That was his last message to Charlbury, and his friends will no doubt see that his wish is gratified. 'The Hat Crusade' will probably not be allowed to cease. Fox had at least two active co-thinkers, Edwin Tregelles and another, who will continue the campaign. The three together have, we believe, been collaborating in a book condemnatory of the bondage of custom in general, and of that custom which entails removal of hats in churches in particular."

— *Oxford Chronicle*; April 11, 1896.

### 'The Late Samuel Fox.

'Mr. Edward Pickard writes from Flushing, near Falmouth, under date of 8th. inst., as follows [from a letter sent to Charlbury]: "The body was interred yesterday afternoon in the Friends' Burial Ground at Budock, near Falmouth. I announced after the coffin had been lowered that it was Samuel Fox's wish for his body to be removed at some future date to the unconsecrated

portion of the public cemetery, at Charlbury, Oxfordshire, in which town he had first fairly commenced his public career. So that when you Charlbury folk can guarantee the funds and wish the transfer to be made, an application must be sent up to the Home Secretary for permission to effect it. For the last six months Fox has been almost entirely confined to bed. He has borne his sufferings with great fortitude, and done his utmost to live as long as possible in order to prosecute the literary work upon which he was engaged. His removal is a great loss to those left behind, but he himself was quite ready and willing to die when the time came. His end was a very quiet one, and apparently free from pain. He passed away in his sleep. The face looked calm, beautiful, and kingly in its last sleep in the coffin. His literary work will be continued, and will in due course come before the world. At the graveside, before the lowering of the coffin, in accordance with his own wish as to the manner of his funeral, I spoke as follows:—Being here as his representative, I read here at the graveside Samuel Fox's written wish with regard to the manner of his funeral, and request that the company will honour it: 'I wish to be buried as simply as may be (the coffin not polished, and all other customary rigmarole connected with funerals reduced to a minimum) with no religious performance of any kind, either before or after the burial or at the graveside.' He has again and again expressed to me, and also in the hearing of others, his particular desire that there should be no religious ceremony at his funeral. It is impossible to dispense with *all ceremony*, hence our standing round the grave and my reading and explaining this. But there is nothing *religious* in it. To consign the body to the grave, and do it decently and in order is not *religious*. Nor is there anything religious in what I am about to say:—Here lie the last earthly remains of a *man* rejected by his own generation, but whose name after ages will honour; who, in an age of cant and shams, would none of them; in an age of hypocrisy and self-deceit, was true to himself, and true to those amongst whom he lived, and for whom, though they did not recognise him, he has thus early sacrificed his life; in an age of selfish apathy and indifference, was willing to suffer all things for principle; in whom the light of conscience still shone clearly, guiding him on his path of suffering to fulfil the work God had given him to do. His family and generation have despised and rejected him; it is for posterity to recognise his worth.'"

---*Oxford Chronicle*; April 18, 1896.

Pickard's attention having been called to a brief notice of Fox's death, in *Tit Bits*, and finding it in several respects seriously misleading, he wrote a letter to the Editor of that paper for publi-

cation. This letter was not inserted, but another notice appeared in a subsequent issue, apparently contributed by some Charlbury person. These two notices and Pickard's unpublished letter are reproduced below :—

"FOX, THE HAT WEARER.—Samuel Fox, the hat wearer, died last week in Cornwall. He started his crusade in 1892, when he was a bookseller in the little Oxfordshire town of Charlbury. For weeks the curious of the country-side trooped into Charlbury every Sunday to see Fox wearing his hat in church. In the end the long-suffering authorities prosecuted him, and as he refused to pay the fine his stock was sold up. Then he came to London, a tall, gaunt, hollow-cheeked young fellow with the eye of an enthusiast, and a huge, broad-brimmed, high-crowned felt hat of a weird amber hue. In this he entered St. Paul's, or 'Paul's house' as he always called it, and, refusing to uncover, was 'run in.' He made several other demonstrations in London churches, but as his friends always paid his fines, he never had the satisfaction of going to prison. He has left behind him the MS. of a work on hat wearing.—'Sheffield Evening Telegraph.'"

—*Tit Bits*; April 25, 1896.

"Flushing, near Falmouth,  
5, Fifth, 1896.

"To the Editor of 'Tit Bits.'

"My notice has just been drawn to a paragraph in thy issue of the 25th. ult., entitled 'Fox, the Hat Wearer.' Allow me to correct two misleading statements in that paragraph. The first is that Samuel Fox was 'prosecuted' at Charlbury, 'and, as he refused to pay the fine, his stock was sold up.' He was *not* prosecuted at Charlbury, neither was his stock sold up to pay any fine imposed. On his leaving Charlbury for London he sold up the bulk of his stock, but the cause of this sale has been wrongly assigned by the contributor of the paragraph referred to.

"The second misleading statement is to the effect that Fox was frequently fined in London, and that 'his friends always paid his fines.' The fact is that he was only once fined, and that once by a Roman Catholic 'Lord' Mayor, who took advantage of the disturbance caused by the policeman in dragging Fox out of Paul's house to treat his case as a case of 'brawling.' An account of this affair appeared in the newspapers at the time.

Edward Pickard."

"W. M. sends a further account of the gentleman who used to insist upon wearing his hat in church. He says: 'As far as I could understand, his creed was nothing more than that expressed in the familiar words, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. He seemed to be under the impression that doffing one's hat implied a surrender of one's liberty. Time and again I argued the point



with him that this was sheer nonsense, while we all doffed hats to each other. The long-suffering authorities of Charlbury did not on any single occasion prosecute this eccentric but well-meaning man, and there were no fines inflicted upon him there."

—*Tit Bits*; May 16, 1896.

Notes to this last paragraph.—1. It requires to be observed that it is not an English custom for "us all" to "doff hats to each other." 2. "W. M." seems to consider the mere phrase "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" to be an ample cure for all ills, but does not seem to attach any special meaning to it.

For the next three months Pickard and Tregelles were kept very closely occupied, printing and distributing catalogues of secondhand books, and hastening forward the completion of "The Hat Crusade," Vol. I. About a week before its publication, Pickard paid a third visit to Truro Cathedral. The following is the account sent to the press, the main part of which was printed in the *Western Morning News*, 17, Sixth, 1896.

#### 'THIRD EXPULSION FROM TRURO CATHEDRAL.

'Edward Pickard visited Truro Cathedral again last Firstday morning. Arriving about ten minutes before eleven o'clock, he walked in at the main entrance and half way up the building, and was just making for a seat, when a man in a black robe (one of the vergers) excitedly seized him by the shoulder and asked him to remove his hat, at the same time beckoning to another verger, similarly attired, to assist him. The two then excitedly repeated what the first one had said, and being told, "I cannot," the second official grabbed the hat, crumpling it up in his hand, both the officials at the same time seizing Pickard by the shoulders and pushing him violently down the aisle and out of the building. Immediately upon his hat being grabbed by the verger, Pickard seized it back, and, as they were pushing him down the aisle, restored it to its original shape and replaced it on his head. At the door a policeman was at once sent for. Pickard asked on whose authority he had been expelled, stating that he had written to the rector since his last visit. It transpired that there had been a new rector appointed in the interval; but a determined-looking man stated that he, as one of the wardens, was responsible for the expulsion, withal accusing Pickard of "impertinence" for coming there to "annoy" the congregation with his "prejudice." Pickard repeated three times: "Yours is the *prejudice*;" and stated that he had no wish to *annoy* people. On the arrival of the policeman (No.2), and before the retirement of the warden and two vergers, Pickard told them that the respon-

sibility was upon their shoulders, that if they expelled conscience from these buildings they would have to deal with people without conscience. Shortly after this, the verger who had done the expelling on previous occasions, a more reasonable and less excited man than the other two, appeared. Pickard asked him whether the bishop was there, and, being told he was not, said that the bishop had allowed him to sit with his hat on once, when he himself was preaching the sermon. The policeman queried whether that was at Kenwyn. Pickard: "No; at a place called Just. By the bye, who was holy Just?" The verger looked puzzled. Pickard: "Saint means holy. Who was holy Just?" The verger "supposed" there must have been a Cornishman of that name in the days gone by, but the question remained unsolved. The policeman told Pickard he ought to get people to follow him, and form a society of his way of thinking; but was answered: "I am an Englishman." Wesley's name being quoted as an example of that course, Pickard replied: "It is not essential that I should imitate John Wesley." As the other officials had tried to make out that the Church of England was not the Church of England—not the National Assembly, Pickard now told the more reasonable verger that he did not at all approve of their being disestablished, that he considered they were a part of the government of the nation, and should continue to be so, adding: "You may find you are making a mistake in considering me as an enemy." Another policeman (No. 8) arriving, and the verger retiring, the conversation was continued off and on in the yard until the close of the performance; and when the people had all passed out of the building, Pickard set off on his walk back to Flushing.'

Since the tug-of-war over the certificates subsided, Pickard and Tregelles have both attended Falmouth meetings from time to time, wearing their hats. On the 8th. of Seventhmonth, each was present at a portion of the Devon and Cornwall quarterly meeting at Falmouth. Their neither of them taking part in the lunch, however, was a cause of trouble to several, who considered it an essential item of the proceedings. One of these, Alfred Balkwill, made a sore point of this when he called over at Flushing in the evening of the same day, not seeming at all ashamed to consider the lunch a kind of "Friends' Holy Communion." Pickard, however, gave him to understand that communion between Quakers was on a different basis from that of eating out of the same trough.

On Firstday morning, the 19th., Pickard attended Falmouth meeting. About a third of the way through, he took off his hat and placed it on the form at his side, feeling rather warm, and not

seeing any necessity to wear it all the time ; but after a few minutes he found himself losing ground and drifting into the languid spirit of the company, while the whole meeting suffered, becoming relaxed and careless. He therefore put on his hat again, with the result of calling, Attention ! Towards the close of the meeting, after three people had spoken, Pickard got up and spoke, with his hat on, calmly, quietly, but in a strong, deep voice, and with a powerful sense of their life and meaning, the following words :—

“One of the most powerful of living writers, Henrik Ibsen, the Norwegian, concludes one of his dramas by the discovery and announcement : ‘He is the greatest man who stands the most alone.’ Prominent among the great characters of whom we read in that invaluable collection of Hebrew literature known as the Old Testament Scriptures, stands the lonely Elijah, who, towards the close of his career, after all the great things he had done, passed through a period of discouragement, fled into the wilderness, and hid himself in a cave, saying : ‘I am no better than my fathers.’ As he stood at the mouth of this cave, the narrative relates that ‘the Lord passed by.’ First there was a whirlwind, but ‘the Lord’ was not in the whirlwind. Then there was an earthquake, but ‘the Lord’ was not in the earthquake. Then there was a fire, but ‘the Lord’ was not in the fire. The Lord, the governing power which had enabled him to stand and to triumph alone, was not in these. The governing power was not in the whirlwind, in the clash of doctrines and speculations and theories. The governing power was not in the earthquake, in the tumultuous heavings and clamourings of the mob. The governing power was not in the devouring fires of passion. But after these had passed, there came a still, small voice. And here was ‘the Lord,’ the governing power that he was seeking, in the still, small voice of that great lone man’s own conscience, telling him that, despite his discouragement, there were seven thousand still who had not compromised themselves with falsehood, that there was a certain man who was to be prophet in his stead, and that other two were preparing for kings of Israel and Syria. And Elijah went out of his cave, being once more in possession of that governing power which had made him great, in the still, small voice.”

On Firstday morning, the 2nd. of Eighthmonth, Pickard paid a visit to the Flushing Established Assembly-house, arriving just after the performance had commenced. On entering, he was accosted by the vicar’s mother, with a request to remove his hat. Replying that he could not do so, he was requested to “go to another church.” To this he answered : “No, I have a right *here*.”—“But you are annoying the congregation.” Pickard : “I have no wish to annoy anyone.” He then took a



seat near the bottom. In a few minutes, the same person who had accosted him at the entrance, came and said, "I must ask you again to remove your hat. I ask you to do it out of kindness." Pickard: "I cannot remove my hat. One doesn't go against one's conscience out of kindness to others."—"But this isn't a Quakers' meeting." Pickard: "I didn't say it was." After this he was not interfered with, was handed a prayer-book and hymn-book by the vicar's wife, and sat through to the close with his hat on.

On Firstday morning, the 9th. of Eighthmonth, Pickard paid a visit to Penwerris Established Assembly-house, Falmouth, arriving there about five minutes before eleven o'clock. After taking his seat, a man with a white beard brought him a hymn-book, and at the same time asked him to remove his hat. Pickard: "I do not take off my hat in these places." The man then said: "It is a matter of custom and right;" to which Pickard replied: "It is a matter of conscience with me." The man then left him, and he was not again interfered with, but sat through the whole performance with his hat on. The vicar, A. S. Sutton, an old-fashioned, earnest, evangelical man, read the "lessons," particularly the "second lesson" from the 8th. chapter of Romans, beginning, "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time..." to the close of the chapter, with real feeling. He preached a sermon from the text, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," in the course of which he read the passage from John, vi, 53-58, about "eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the son of man," stating that these words "had no reference to the Lord's Supper," and withal saying that the great truth expressed by these portions of John's Gospel was denied nowadays on all hands, and even where it was not denied in words was so added to by men's inventions as to be practically denied. On leaving the building, Pickard was accosted by the same man who had asked him to remove his hat, who now with some difficulty expressed his opinion that Pickard "ought not to be at large." The preacher had just been telling the congregation to test everything by the words of Jesus in the Scriptures. If he had considered it worth while, Pickard might have asked this official when Jesus told a man to take off his hat. But, after making him repeat his accusation loud enough to be heard, he contented himself with answering it with a good-humoured, "Oh!"

A week later, Pickard paid a visit to "All Saints'" House, Falmouth, a ritualistic place, where a "mission" had just been conducted by the notorious "Father" Dolling. As usual he sent an account of his experiences to a number of newspapers,

but only one inserted it. The *West Briton* seems to have imagined it would obtain a little cheap favour from the "Church" authorities at Truro by stating at the foot of a misleading notice of this incident :—"The usual detailed report of the affair has been forthcoming from Mr. Edward Pickard, but having no desire to render Mr. Pickard any further assistance in his endeavour to obtain a little cheap notoriety, we have consigned it to the waste-paper basket."

—*West Briton*; August 20, 1896.

The same misleading notice having also appeared in two Plymouth papers (the *Western Morning News* and the *Western Daily Mercury*), neither of which inserted the account Pickard sent them, a letter correcting the misstatement was forwarded to and inserted in both papers. In addition to inserting this letter, the Editor of the *Western Daily Mercury* published an article on the subject. The misleading account, Pickard's letter, and the Editorial are reproduced below :—

#### "SINGULAR INCIDENT IN A FALMOUTH CHURCH.

"Yesterday morning a Mr. Pickard, of Flushing, commonly known in Cornwall as 'the hat crusade man,' entered All Saints' Church, Falmouth, and took a seat with his hat on. The incident caused some consternation among the congregation. Mr. J. M. Carne, senior churchwarden, approached the visitor, and insisted upon the removal of his head-gear, which he declined to do. Pickard left the church, with an evident disposition to engage in an argument upon the matter, but returned to the porch, where he remained during the service."

—*Western Daily Mercury*; August 17, 1896.

#### "THE HAT CRUSADE.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Daily Mercury.'

"As thou has not found space in thy columns for my account of the 'Singular Incident in a Falmouth Church' reported in 'Monday's' *Western Daily Mercury*, thou wilt, no doubt, do me the justice of publishing a correction of a mis-statement contained in that report. It is there stated that 'Mr. J. M. Carne, senior churchwarden approached the visitor, and insisted upon the removal of his head gear, which he declined to do. Pickard left the church,' etc. Now this implies that I voluntarily left the building, which is not the fact. After sitting about fifteen minutes, with my hat on, unmolested, one of the wardens (J. M. Carne), without any warning, came up behind, and snatching off my hat carried it hastily out of the building. Of course I at once followed, demanded my hat, and, it being returned to me, replaced it on my head and endeavoured to re-enter the building. From this, however, I was forcibly prevented in two separate attempts; so that the statement I made to the warden that nothing

but force kept me out was the simple fact of the case. I remained standing in the porch during the whole of the performance, did not leave until the whole congregation had passed out of the building.

Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 18, Eighth, 1896."

—*Western Daily Mercury*; August 20, 1896.

Note.—The above letter was published with "Sir" before and the wording of the date altered in accordance with the customary method.

#### "THE 'HAT CRUSADE.'"

"A gentleman named Pickard is earning some notoriety by appearing in Cornish churches with his hat on. Mr. Pickard, we presume, is a Quaker. If so, we put it to him in a brotherly spirit whether he thinks it would be good taste on the part of Churchmen to attend religious meetings of the Friends and there behave in a manner offensive to the majority of the worshippers. Mr. Pickard thinks he is 'doing the will of God' by going into a church and disturbing the service by his eccentricities. A similar reason has been used before now to justify many curious and even cruel things. The man who annoys his fellows and shocks their sense of propriety when engaged in an act of worship, and excuses himself by the plea that he is doing the Divine will, is either very presumptuous or exceedingly foolish. A greater authority than Mr. Pickard has laid down a golden rule of conduct—'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.' If Mr. Pickard were capable of applying this rule to his own conduct, we should hear nothing of the 'hat crusade.' It is quite possible that the good people who, assembled under their own vine and figtree, worship the Almighty with covered heads, are more nearly conforming to the 'will of God' than those who think that the uncovered head is the proper sign of reverence. We don't profess to know which are right and which wrong. We have a suspicion, however, that it doesn't very much matter one way or the other, and that the Great Object of worship looks a little deeper into a man than his hat or his hair. Mr. Pickard, we have no doubt, has very strong convictions on the subject of 'ritualism' and 'vestments,' and would use strong language about 'forms and ceremonies.' But is he not as great a formalist as anybody when he attaches so much importance to such trifles as hats? It is of little use, we suppose, to argue the matter with Mr. Pickard. We understand that his eccentricity is tolerated in some churches. At Flushing and Penwerris the authorities suffer him to wear his hat or not, as he pleases. It is very good of them, and Mr. Pickard should show that he appreciates their forbearance by bestowing his patronage and his pence on the



churches of Flushing and Penwerris. In some places he would be in danger of prosecution for ‘brawling,’ a term which the Courts are inclined to interpret rather freely, as he may yet learn by experience.”

—*Western Daily Mercury*; August 20, 1896.

The following is the account of the “All Saints” affair sent to the press, and inserted in the *Cornish Echo* with some introductory remarks by the Editor of that paper, in which he utterly ignores the false reports which had appeared in the local press and Pickard’s letters correcting them, and most unjustifiably assumes that the communication of “full details of his escapades to the press goes at once to prove that his so-called ‘crusade’ is largely prompted by a desire for self-notoriety.” These newspaper editors show themselves either to be writing to gain favour with certain cliques and classes, or to be very dense of understanding, when “a desire for self-notoriety” is the only reason they can surmise for taking means to obviate false reports and misunderstandings, and thus to accomplish with the least possible resistance the aims and objects of

### ‘The Hat Crusade.

#### ‘PICKARD DISTURBS THE CONGREGATION AT ALL SAINTS.

‘A communication has reached us concerning the disturbance which Edward Pickard, the man with the mania for making himself both conspicuous and ridiculous by wearing his hat in public places of worship, created at All Saints Church on Sunday. The fact that Pickard communicates full details of his escapades to the press goes at once to prove that his so-called “crusade” is largely prompted by a desire for self-notoriety. We make these preliminary remarks in order that the statement of this individual who has for so long thought fit to disturb the religious worship of congregations by his unseemly conduct, may be taken at its true worth. Mr. Pickard’s own account of his escapade is as follows :

‘Edward Pickard, who has recently been allowed to sit with his hat on in the Parish House, both at Flushing and at Penwerris, Falmouth, paid a visit last Firstday morning to “All Saints” House, Falmouth. Arriving just as the performance was commencing, he entered and took his seat, unmolested. After about fifteen minutes had elapsed, without any warning, his hat was seized from behind and carried hastily out of the building. Pickard followed and demanded his hat, which was given him by the warden, who said he was welcome to have it if he would not wear it in the building. Pickard immediately put it on, and made for the door ; but was forcibly prevented from entering by

this man and another, upon which he said, "I cannot go in <sup>if</sup> I am forcibly prevented; though nothing but force prevents me. I have a right here." This the warden admitted, but said he had no right with his hat on, and that it was his duty as warden to prevent it. Pickard replied, "It is my duty to go in. I am doing no harm, but am doing you good." Warden: "A number of the congregation would probably cease attending here if you were allowed to wear your hat." Pickard: "Perhaps that would be no serious loss." The warden then tried to make out that being expelled from Truro Cathedral ought to have been enough to stop him from coming here. Pickard replied that it did not follow that your being prevented from doing a thing proved it to be any the less right, that a good thing did not cease to be a good thing because difficulties were placed in its way. The warden said, "If you came into my house, you would take off your hat, out of respect for me?" Pickard: "It all depends. There probably would be no reason for wearing it." Warden: "Then surely you have more respect for God than you have for me. You surely will take off your hat out of reverence for your Maker?" Pickard: "There is no real respect or reverence shown in taking off one's hat. As to showing reverence for my Maker, I do that in a very different way from taking off my hat to him. I show reverence to my Maker by doing his will." Warden: "Then do his will." Upon this the two officials went inside, where they kept a strict watch on the doors, while Pickard remained standing in the porch. After some time, the congregation (whether the "All Saints" to whom the building is supposed to belong seems doubtful) went down on their knees and repeated four times, following the abject tones of their leader, a request to have mercy shown to them, "miserable sinners." When the sermon was just upon commencing, Pickard made an attempt to enter, but was speedily checked by the warden, who, on being asked, "Won't thou let me hear the 'priest in charge' (a name given to their vicar on a notice in the porch) preach?" replied, "Not with your hat on." As he was forcibly closing the door with the help of his assistant, Pickard said, "Thou told me just now to do the will of God. Thou art preventing me." Pickard remained standing in the porch till the whole congregation had passed out, and then quietly went his way.' —*Falmouth and Penryn Times, and Cornish Echo; Aug. 22, 1896.*

On reading the article in the *Western Daily Mercury*, in which the Editor of that paper "put it to him in a brotherly spirit whether &c.," Pickard at once sat down and wrote a reply for publication:—

#### "THE HAT CRUSADE.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Daily Mercury.'

"In order as little as possible to 'shock' thy or thy readers'

'sense of propriety,' let me explain that it is out of no disrespect either to thee or to them that I do not prefix this letter by the word 'Sir.' Thy editorial counsel and warning tendered to me in a brotherly spirit in today's *Western Daily Mercury* justify me in taking up the argument in the same brotherly spirit, and in expecting thee to print my letter without prefixing to it any of those hollow 'forms and ceremonies' that the absence of such a spirit has made so rigidly binding in the ordinary intercourse of the world. To 'shock' people's 'sense of propriety,' I readily admit, is a thing which should not be lightly done, and in fact should not be deliberately done without imperative requirement. When, however, a 'sense of propriety' is synonymous with a powerful and degrading superstition, it may become necessary, however unpleasant to himself, for a well-wisher of mankind, in shaking off the shackles of the one, to shock the other. And if so I have done, I have at least the honour and support which comes from companionship with those who have secured our present stage of development by similar shocks in the past. 'Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you.' By all means, yes. If I were running blindly down a steep place into the sea, I would thank anyone whose eyes were open for putting a stop to my headlong career, even if for the moment his brotherly action 'shocked my sense of propriety.' And if the blind and downward course were followed by a crowd, and those who strove to stop them were but few, they would indeed be 'exceedingly foolish' if they allowed the first furious vociferations of this irritated multitude to blind them also to the facts and carry them headlong to destruction with the rest. Rather would they, if they were wise, keep their ground as quietly as possible, until the first furious vociferations had subsided, and there were a possibility of getting this blinded multitude to listen to reason. Thou speaks of the 'good people, assembled under their own vine and figtree;' implying that 'good people' must never leave the shadow of their own private shelters, and must leave the world to go to the bad, for fear of 'shocking its sense of propriety.' 'We have a suspicion, however, that it doesn't matter very much one way or the other.' If this be so, why is such a great matter made of it as to forcibly remove either me or my hat from the building? I do not put others' hats on for them. I only wear my own; and I claim the right of an Englishman to be present in those assemblies, which, however I may disagree with much of what goes on in them, are the assemblies of the nation to which I belong. 'The Great Object of worship.' What is this? Is it some fictitious deity to be conjured up in the imagination like a Hindoo monstrosity, and cringed to like a senseless tyrant? If so, he will not see any 'deeper than the hat or the hair.' But if by this curious

phrase God is meant, it is quite true he can see deeper than the hat or the hair; but it is not necessary to remove either the hat or the hair or both, for the all seeing vision to penetrate. 'Such trifles as hats.' The authorities at 'All Saints,' Falmouth, at Truro Cathedral, and elsewhere, evidently do not think my hat a trifle, or they would not show such inveterate hostility to its occupying its right position, namely upon my head.

Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 20, Eighth, 1896."

After waiting two days without any notice being taken of this letter, Pickard wrote out a copy of it, which he forwarded to the Editor of the *Western Morning News* for insertion in that paper, together with the following explanatory note:—

"Flushing, near Falmouth,

22, Eighth, 1896.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Morning News.'

"Thou wilt doubtless have read the leading article which appeared in a Plymouth contemporary on 'The Hat Crusade,' putting some questions to me in a 'brotherly spirit.' As, however, my Editorial inquirer has not ventured to publish my reply, I presume that his 'brotherly spirit' was a mere form of expression, and am justified by his injustice to me in sending thee a copy of my letter, perchance thou might find a place for it in thy columns.

Edward Pickard."

Although the Editor of the *Western Daily Mercury* did not either acknowledge or publish the answer to his questions, yet in the weekly issue of the same paper, besides a repetition of the misleading account previously published, further disparaging and anonymous remarks were printed under the heading, "Cornish Notes and News," being apparently supposed safe from public exposure and reply.

"Mr. Pickard, of Flushing, has earned for himself a rather cheap notoriety throughout a greater part of Cornwall as the 'hat crusade man.' He is very anxious that he should be allowed to wear his head-gear within any sacred edifice he may choose to enter during religious service. Such a practice is somewhat indecorous, if not peculiarly effeminate, and is certainly not in keeping with what has obtained down through these many generations. When he visited All Saints' Church, Falmouth, on Sunday, and took his seat, retaining on his cranium his Sabbath chapeau, the senior churchwarden proved too many for him, and he retired. We have known some churches where his hat would have been summarily removed by that worthy's wand of office. In days gone by the white rod carried by the churchwardens



were of greater utility than they are now. We would not like to hear that Mr. Pickard's head-gear had come in violent contact with a churchwarden's wand. If there should be anything the matter with the gentleman's head it would be permissible for him to wear a skull cap during service. They are very inexpensive, and do not count as luggage with the railway company."

—*Western Weekly Mercury*; August 22, 1896.

Notes to above.—1. "The senior churchwarden" was not "too many for him," nor did Pickard "retire." A correction of this misstatement had already been published in the *Western Daily Mercury*; so there was no excuse for repeating and emphasizing it in the *Weekly*. 2. "Effeminate." Is Li Hung Chang effeminate? Are the Arabs effeminate? Have the Jews in any age been noted as an effeminate people? 3. "Skull cap." See the 18th. canon of the Church of England about wearing a "coif or nightcap." To go skulking about under such a covering might perhaps be called effeminate, and certainly would be more in accordance with the sleepy atmosphere of these places than wearing one's own proper head-gear. 4. It so happens that Pickard's hat was not a "Sabbath chapeau," but the hat he wore on all days of the week, and when going out about his ordinary business.

As Pickard was journeying between Falmouth and Plymouth on his way North to pay a visit to his parents in Yorkshire, he procured a *Western Morning News*, and examined its columns for a notice of the communication he had just sent to the Editor. Although he did not find what he was looking for, yet the correspondence columns contained a letter which offered him another opportunity of a public rejoinder to the anonymous allegations against him which had appeared in the press. In the train between Plymouth and Bristol he therefore composed a reply to this latest and most outspoken attack, which, along with the anonymous attack itself, is reprinted below. The Editor of the *Western Morning News* had the wisdom and courtesy to publish Pickard's letter exactly as it was sent.

#### "HATS IN CHURCH.

"SIR,—I earnestly hope that all churchwardens will deal with offenders against decency like Mr. Pickard in the same manner as Mr. Carne, reported in your paper of Monday. It has been judicially decided that if any person shall irreverently keep his hat on during the time of Divine service the churchwardens may take it off, after requesting him to do so himself, and that no action of assault can be maintained against them for so doing (see Prideaux's 'Churchwarden's Guide'). The hands of churchwardens are much strengthened by the Act of Parliament under

which proceedings can be taken against any one who shall be guilty of 'contemptuously coming into any church and disturbing the same' or of any 'indecent behaviour' therein, and it would be as well if Mr. Pickard could be made an example of under it.

"August 20th, 1896.

Observer."

—*Western Morning News*; August 24, 1896.

#### "HATS IN 'CHURCH.'

"To the Editor of the 'Western Morning News.'

"Thy insertion of a letter signed 'Observer' on the above subject in thy correspondence columns this morning warrants me in asking thee to insert a brief rejoinder, more particularly as the subject is not a personal nor a private one, but a matter of public and of national importance. What with Popery on the one hand, and Socialism on the other, and a probable understanding between the two, the world is in serious danger of another period of Dark Ages, resulting from systematic suppression of conscience, and consequently of individuality and intellect.

"The Church of England as today constituted is the result of a compromise between Popery and long-established custom on the one hand, and Protestant freedom of thought and action on the other. It would be a sad thing for the nation if the Church of England, clinging blindly to one half of its tradition, should neglect and go back upon the other. What has made England a great nation has been the much greater scope granted to the free exercise of conscience here than in other countries. And if England is to continue a great nation, if she is to take that first place in the world's progress which is now offered to her acceptance, it will not be by casting away this quality which has made her great in the past, but by wisely and yet fearlessly going forward in the direction of still greater freedom of conscience. Such being the position of affairs, it is a very bad sign to see attempts made on all hands to discredit this true freedom by confounding it with mere anarchic licence.

"It is well known to students of English history that the first Quakers were a moral, upright, law-abiding, sober people. Yet they were willing to endure all, even to death itself, rather than go counter to their conscience in the matter of hat-wearing. This being so well-established a fact in history, it must be taken as a sign either of ignorance or of dishonesty in thy correspondent 'Observer,' to imply as he does that hat-wearing is either 'contemptuous' or 'indecent' behaviour. The right of Quakers on the ground of conscience to wear their hats in court was recognised by the highest legal authorities of this country after the memorable trial of Penn and Mead, and no impartial person would

have the effrontery to accuse William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, of either 'contemptuous' or 'indecent' behaviour. There is no contempt shown either to God or man by wearing one's hat on the ground of conscience in a company which professes to be a local portion of the Christian assembly of England. And, as for calling such an act 'indecent,' let me appeal to the candid judgment of the readers of the *Western Morning News* as to whether such a charge is not absurd in the extreme. Li Hung Chang is not called 'indecent' for wearing his hat, as any well-bred Chinaman does, as a sign of respect and reverence. The custom of hat-doffing is, in his opinion, a sign of disrespect and of irreverence; and in that one particular he may be nearer right than Western civilisation is at present willing to admit. In the meantime let me suggest to thy correspondent, 'Observer,' that he would be acting a more manly and a wiser part to refrain from calling things by their wrong names.

"Bristol; 24, Eighth, 1896.

Edward Pickard."

—*Western Morning News*; August 25, 1896.

A few days after Pickard had left for the North, a portion of a copy of the *Cornubian and Redruth Times* arrived from some more or less thoughtful and friendly-disposed person, who had written upon it in blue pencil:—"Some twaddle and rubbish from Redruth. Though the sender of this may not agree with Mr. Pickard's actions, yet he cannot refrain from calling his attention to the curious views taken by some of the same. What is meant by the question at the end?" This paper contained the following Editorial chaff, one point in which, of a more serious nature than the writer seems to have supposed, caused Tregelles to send in reply the letter reprinted below:—

"A gentleman called Edward Pickard has given offence by appearing in Churches in different parts of the county wearing his hat. So far as we can learn he gives chapels a wide berth; but if he prefers the church, he has adopted a queer method of showing his preference. At two or three places of worship no notice was taken of his unbecoming conduct. Perhaps the officiating clergymen supposed he was suffering from weakness in the upper storey, and was afraid of taking a chill. It may be that his head is bald, and he allows it to remain covered to keep off flies. If that is so, the remedy is simple. Let him before going to Church sprinkle the bald part freely with pepper, and he will not experience the least annoyance. On the contrary, if his hearing is sufficiently acute, he will experience infinite amusement through hearing the flies sneezing, and humming tunes backwards. It is just possible that Mr. Pickard is acting as he does from what he calls principle, but what other folk call eccentricity. Principles which,

when reduced to practice, shock the sense of propriety of one's fellow worshippers, must be of less value than the proverbial fig. If he wishes to wear his hat at places of worship, let him go to meeting-houses where the practice obtains, and leave those who differ from him to enjoy their own opinion as well as himself. Is it not rather remarkable that Mr. Pickard's christian name is Edward?"

—*Cornubian and Redruth Times*; August 28, 1896.

"Lanner; 31, Eight, 1896.

"To the Editor of the 'Cornubian and Redruth Times.'

"I must be allowed to draw thy attention to part of a paragraph in thy issue of the 28th. inst. relative to Edward Pickard. I pass by the insulting reference to his person. But to pretend that his principles are not worth a fig, and in the same breath to confess that one of the most widely respected of our Protestant bodies considers it worth its while to practice what he claims the right of all Christian bodies to do, to wear your hat where you choose, is illogical and absurd in the extreme.

Edwin Tregelles."

Pickard spent a week at his father's at Newton-in-Bowland, Yorkshire, where the whole family was gathered, and during which time many misunderstandings were removed. He also called at Leeds, Sheffield, and Nottingham, on his way back to Cornwall. At the Friends' Firstday morning meeting at Newton-in-Bowland, Pickard found it unnecessary to wear his hat, and was afterwards able to express agreement with every word of a powerful address by his father. Attending the Fourthday morning meeting at Carlton Hill, Leeds, he found after sitting for about a quarter of an hour that he could rightly remove his hat, and, as it was warm, did so. Alfred Wright delivered a long address containing a considerable amount of good advice; but afterwards proceeded to "pray" it all away; upon which, Pickard, seeing the way things were going, promptly replaced his hat on his head. This had a steadying, strengthening effect on the concluding portion of the meeting, after which many of those present showed themselves friendly. Pickard dined at 49, Briggate, his old place of business, and conversed earnestly on public questions for some hours with his senior friend and former partner, Thomas Witting. At Nottingham, he took the opportunity of visiting the historical steeplehouse--such a striking object on the top of the hill--where George Fox withstood the preacher more than two centuries ago. Going inside, the verger, or caretaker, said "prayers" were going on just then, but as soon as they were done he would show him over the building. Pickard, however, told him he could see all he wanted to see where he was,



just inside the main entrance, and after standing a minute or so, long enough to obtain a good view of the place, during which time no notice was taken of his hat, he departed saying, "That is quite enough."

Meanwhile Tregelles, going about Cornwall offering "The Hat Crusade," Vol. I. from house to house, was able to clear up a large and astonishing variety of misunderstandings. At many places he was courteously received, and useful conversations ensued, while some who greeted him angrily parted in a very different manner. On reaching the porch of a house near Ponsanooth, a dog which was on the lawn suddenly rushed towards him, barking loudly and showing its teeth; and, instead of calling the dog away, some young swells on the lawn urged it at Tregelles. On it came, snarling and barking more furiously than ever. When it reached him, the dog took hold of his trousers; but, feeling Tregelles was not afraid, it let go without biting the flesh, turned tail, and ceased barking. This was not the first experience of the kind Tregelles had undergone. Crossing a large park in Yorkshire, some years before, very near the mansion house, some rude stable boys, being angry with him because he would not take any notice of their insolent remarks about his attire, let loose a huge black retriever, which came rushing down the hill after him, barking furiously, while they all kept egging the animal on, "Hss! Hss! At him! Bite him!" Tregelles stood still, thinking that, if he was to be bitten, it would be worse if he moved or ran. When the savage creature got up to him, it smelt about him as dogs do, stopped barking, and retired to the servants and lookers-on, who were last seen scolding the dog for its strange behaviour in allowing Tregelles to escape unhurt. On another occasion, at Otley, the day before he got "run in" as narrated in Vol. II, some of the riff-raff of the town were following him, jeering and ridiculing. A young man of the "better" class was looking on, inciting the rabble to do him some damage; and, having a large retriever with him, set the dog on Tregelles in the usual way. The latter, profiting by the experience recounted above, stood still, stiffened his legs, and awaited the animal's attack. But as soon as the dog got close up to him, it stopped barking, and quietly went away. The disappointed owner set it on again, but it was "no go;" and both man and dog turned away and left him. More recently again, a farmer not far from Truro set two dogs on to Tregelles, but could not prevail upon them to do him any injury.

While Pickard was up North, the following article in the *Leeds Mercury* from the pen of a Leeds member of the Society

of Friends, Joseph Latchmore, was brought under his notice :—

“THE HAT IN COURTS OF JUSTICE.

“‘Chaltrome’ writes :—

“A recent case in the Leeds Police-court, in which a witness objected to remove his hat on conscientious grounds because he was a Quaker, was well disposed of by the exercise of a little common sense ; the Chairman of the Bench of Magistrates, having asked the permission of his brother magistrates, seeing that as no doubt the witness meant no offence, he might be allowed to wear his hat. The objection to removing the hat in Courts of Justice now seldom troubles Court officials, as the ‘Friends’ have pretty much given up the protest which George Fox felt it his duty to adopt. It may, however, be interesting to the public to know the history of the hat difficulty which brought so much trouble on Fox and his friends, and often made Judges and magistrates bitter against the new sect, whom neither persecutions, imprisonments, nor sentences of premunire could turn one hair’s breadth from the course they felt to be right.

“First it must be remembered that Fox’s advent was at a time when the deference paid to the rich and those in authority by the poor and the middle classes was much more marked than in this day. He believed that there was no respect of persons in the sight of the Almighty, and that all flattering titles, bowing, scraping, and hat-lifting savoured of sycophancy, and were harmful both to the giver and receiver. After describing in his journal the mission he was sent on, and the message he had for the world, which amounted to nothing less than a new revelation or Divine commission, he says—‘Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, he forbade me to “put off my hat” to any, high or low ; and I was required to thee and thou all men and women without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people good morrow or good evening ; neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one ; and this made the sects and professors to rage. But oh ! the rage that then was in the priests and professors ! for though Thou to a single person was according to their own learning, their accidence and grammar rules, and according to the Bible, yet they could not bear to hear it ; and as to the hat-honour, because I could not put off my hat to them, it set them all in a rage. Oh ! the rage and scorn, the heat and fury that arose ! The blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent for not putting off our hats to men ; for that soon tried all men’s patience and sobriety what it was. Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this

account are hard to be expressed, besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter, and that by the great professors of Christianity, who thereby discovered that they were not true believers.'

"It was not long before George Fox came into collision with the Law Courts on this question, and the record of it in his journal has its humorous as well as its grave side. In 1656 George Fox paid his first visit to the county of Cornwall, which resulted in one of the longest and most severe of his imprisonments. Fox had two of his friends with him, Salt and Pyot, and according to his practice had written a short address to the people, which was to be circulated in the seven parishes at the Land's End. There was nothing objectionable in this pamphlet, but a copy was handed to the mounted servant of Peter Ceeley, a Justice of St. Ives, who took it to his master. This resulted in the apprehension of the two friends of Fox while he was down at the shore, and when he returned, finding a rude mob dragging them off, he followed, and on his admission that he was the writer of the pamphlet, the oath of abjuration was tendered to them, which not feeling free to take [not free to take any oath], all three were sent off to Launceston under a guard of soldiers. When the Assizes came on, nine weeks later, during which interval they lay in prison, the town was all alive with expectation, and curious to see the prisoners who were going to defy the Judge (Justice Glyn). Here it will be best to quote Fox's account of the episode. 'When we were brought into court, we stood some time with our hats on, and all was quiet, and I was moved to say, "Peace be amongst you!" Judge Glyn, a Welshman, then Chief Justice of England, said to the gaoler, "What be these you have brought into court?" "Prisoners, my Lord!" said he. "Why do you not put off your hats?" said the Judge again. Still we said nothing. Then, said the Judge, "The Court commands you to put off your hats." Then I spoke, and said, "When did ever any magistrate, King, or Judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews, the people of God, or amongst the heathen? and if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law, either written or printed." Then the Judge grew very angry and said, "I do not carry my law books on my back." "But," said I, "Tell me where it is printed, in any statute book, that I may read it." "Then," said the Judge, "take him away, prevaricator! I'll ferk him." So they took us away, and put us among the thieves. Presently after he calls to the gaoler, "Bring them up again." "Come," said he, "when had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me. I have you fast now." I replied, "Thou mayest read in the Third of Daniel that the three

children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on." This plain instance stopped him, so that, not having anything else to say to the point, he cried again, "Take them away, gaoler." In the afternoon they were again brought up, and apparently the hat difficulty was surmounted by the gaoler taking them off for the stubborn prisoners. Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, in his recently published and very readable book, 'George Fox,' has a footnote on this amusing episode as follows:—Referring to Fox's question to the Judge as to any Scripture warrant for removing the hat, he says—"A quaint little illustration of the way in which Fox, who was accused of undervaluing the Scripture, had absorbed it into the very tissue of his mind; so that for him the proceedings of an English Court of Justice in the seventeenth century were to be modelled on the customs of an Oriental people two thousand years before that date." On the next page he reminds us that it is 'strange that Fox, with his intimate acquaintance with the Bible, should not have perceived the real point at issue between Oriental and Occidental custom, that among the Jews, as with so many other Eastern nations, it was not by uncovering the head, but by "loosing the shoes from off their feet," that reverence was shown to a superior power.' This, however, by no means proves that Fox was mistaken in believing that he was called upon to testify against the insincerity of complimentary titles and honours which were carried to such an extreme in his day. It was time some one stood in the breach against some of the foolish customs both in dress and address which marked the era both of the Commonwealth and the reign of the 'Merry Monarch,' and none was more likely than the man, who, after his nearly three years' imprisonment in Lancaster and Scarborough Castle, elicited the testimony from his soldier guards of the latter place, when his real name was mentioned after his release, 'He is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell, for we could never move him.' But this conscientious objection to remove the hat gave Fox and the early Quakers no small trouble, and proves how easy it is for the human mind to confuse conscience and licence. One 'Perrot,' who had joined the Quakers about 1658-60, but subsequently left them, and became as distinguished for his worldliness and sensuality as formerly for his austerity, conceived the idea that the removal of the hat during public prayer was a 'formality, and a common custom of the world, which ought to be departed from.' Fox was quick to perceive the danger ahead if the hat testimony was carried too far, and lost no time in writing one of his letters which doubtless would be copied and sent broadcast over the land, wherein he warned his followers against the *indulgence* of a spirit that would 'lead them off into outward things



and janglings about them.' Nor was this done a day too soon, for it was found that a considerable number of his followers had become tainted with Perrot's heresy. It was, however, finally crushed out by the vigour and determination of George Fox and others, who called a meeting in London, at which those who had fallen into error made a public confession of their regret that they had been led to adopt such a mischievous delusion."

—*Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*: August 15, 1896.

Notes to the above.—"Chaltrome" says: "Apparently the hat difficulty was surmounted by the gaoler taking them off;" whereas if he went on reading the account in George Fox's *Journal*, he would find that:—"The judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the gaoler, 'Take them off'; which he did, and gave them unto us; and we put them on again. Then we asked the judge and the justices, 'What we had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing they now objected nothing to us, but about our hats?' And as for putting off our hats, I told them, 'That was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it, the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, and is the mark of unbelievers. For how can ye believe, saith Christ, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only. And Christ saith, I received not honour from men; and all true Christians should be of his mind.' Then the Judge began to make a great speech, how he represented the Lord Protector's person; and he had made him Lord Chief Justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, &c. We desired him, then, that he would do us justice." After a long examination, George Fox and his friends were found to be innocent of the charges brought against them; when the Chief Justice, instead of liberating them, "cried, 'Take them away gaoler'; and then when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks a piece for not putting off our hats, and to be kept in prison till we paid it, and so sent us back to the gaol again." (*Journal*, First Edition, pp. 182-5.) It is clear from the above quotation that "Chaltrome's" statement about the hat difficulty being "apparently surmounted by the gaoler taking them off for the stubborn prisoners," is incorrect, they having "put them on again," and finally had to go to gaol because they would not either take them off themselves, or leave them off when the officials had removed them. After being in gaol some time, Edward Pyot wrote to Chief Justice Glyn; and in his letter, referring to their imprisonment for not taking their hats off, he says:—"Magna Charta, cap. 29 saith, 'We shall sell to no man, we shall deny, or defer to no man, either justice or right.' Hast thou not both deferred and denied to us, who had been so long oppressed, this justice and right? And when of thee justice

we demanded, saidst thou not, If we would be uncovered, thou wouldst hear us and do us justice?—‘We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no man, either justice or right,’ saith Magna Charta, as aforesaid. Again, ‘We have commanded all our Justices, that they shall from henceforth do even law, and execution of right to all our subjects, rich and poor, without having regard to any man’s person, &c., upon pain to be at our will, body, lands, and goods, to do therewith as shall please us in case they do contrary,’ saith Stat. 20 Edw. III, cap. 1. Again, ‘Ye shall swear, that ye shall do even law, and execution of right to all, &c.,’ saith the oath appointed to be taken by all the judges. Stat. 18, Edw. III. But none of these, nor none other law, hath such an expression, or condition in it, as this viz. ‘Provided he will put off his hat to you, or be uncovered.’ Nor doth the law of God so say, or that your persons be respected; but the contrary. From whence then comes this *new law*, ‘If ye will be uncovered, I will hear you and do you justice?’ This hearing complaint of wrong, this doing of justice, upon condition, wherein lies the equity and the reasonableness of that? When were these fundamental laws repealed, which were the issue of much blood, which to uphold cost the miseries and blood of the late wars, that we shall now be heard, as to our right, and have justice done to us upon condition, and that too such a trifling one as the putting off the hat? Doth thy saying so, who art commanded as aforesaid, repeal them?...And bonds hast thou cast, and continued upon us until this day, under an unreasonable and cruel gaoler, for not performing that thy condition, for conscience’ sake....And is not thy saying, ‘If ye will be uncovered (or put off your hats), I will hear you, and do you justice;’ and (because we could not put them off for conscience’ sake) thy denying us justice, and refusing to hear us, as to wrong (who had so unjustly suffered), a default in thee against the very essence of those laws, yea, an overthrow thereof?...Dost thou not by this time see where thou art? Art thou sure thou shalt never be made to understand and feel the justice thereof?...An unrighteous man, standing before thee with his hat off, shall be heard; but an innocent man, appearing with his hat on in conscience to the Lord, shall neither be heard nor have justice. Is not this regarding of persons contrary to the laws aforesaid, and the oath and the law of God?’ Again, referring to the manner in which the judge in his anger had tried to intimidate George Fox, Pyot says in the same letter: “Wherefore didst thou use such threatening language, and such menacings to him and to us, saying, thou wouldst *ferk* us, with such like? Doth not the law forbid reviling, and rage, and fury, threatening, and menacing of prisoners?...Provides not the law against it? Saith it not, that irons and all other bonds shall be taken from the prisoner,

that he may plead without amazement, and with such freedom of spirit, as if he were not a prisoner?" Note also this striking statement as to the supreme place given by the Common Law of England to conscience or the Law of God:—"What ado hast thou made to take away the righteousness of the righteous from him, and to cause us to suffer further, whom thou knewest to have been so long wrongfully in prison contrary to law? Is not liberty of conscience a natural right? Had there been a law in this case, and we bound up in our consciences, that we could not have obeyed it, was not liberty of conscience there to take place? For where the law saith not against, there needs no plea of liberty of conscience: But the law have we not offended; yet in thy will hast thou caused, and dost thou yet cause us to suffer for our consciences, where the law requires no such thing: and yet for liberty of conscience hath all the blood been spilt, and the miseries of the late wars undergone, and (as the Protector saith) this Government undertakes to preserve it; and a natural right, he saith, it is; and he that would have it, he saith, ought to give it. And if it be a natural right, as is undeniable; then to attempt to force it, or to punish a man for not doing contrary to it, is to act against nature: which as it is unreasonable, so it is the same as to offer violence to a man's life. And what an offence that is in the law, thou knowest; and how, by the Common Law of England, all Acts, Agreements and Laws that are against Nature, are mere nullities? and all the judges cannot make one case to be law, that is against nature." (George Fox's *Journal*, First Edition, pp. 191-5.) And "Chaltrome," or rather Joseph Latchmore, a member of the Society of Friends and professed admirer of George Fox, so fails to recognise the importance of the issues at stake in this trial, as to suppose that "the hat difficulty was surmounted by the gaoler taking them off for the stubborn prisoners," while he can think of it, with the sufferings it involved, and the far-reaching reformatory results of their magnanimous endurance, as an "amusing episode!" He surely will not consider it "amusing" that such men, innocent of all save refusing to obey an order for which neither law nor reason was advanced, should have been imprisoned in "a stinking hole," with "excrement" poured over them till they could "hardly bear the stink," and should have steadfastly refused to purchase their freedom by paying the fine imposed for obedience to their conscience. (See *Journal*.)

Thomas Hodgkin's "George Fox," which is eulogised and quoted from by Joseph Latchmore, was procured, and criticised in a pamphlet published some months later. It will be as well to reprint here the paragraph in that pamphlet dealing with the first Quakers' hat-wearing, as it answers the portions quoted in the above article:—

"Something must be said at this point, of the first Quakers' hat-wearing, over which the latest biographer of George Fox thinks it well to make merry. It is possible even for a learned eclectic to laugh too soon. The point in the biography where this matter comes in for such treatment as is vouchsafed to it, is in connection with Fox's trial at Launceston before the then Chief Justice Glynn. On p. 127 we first receive warning of the almost malignant spirit in which this matter is approached, by the statement that the 'country folk had come from far and near to gaze upon these strange beings who were going to defy the great Chief Justice.' Why 'defy?' Did it look like defiance for Fox quietly from the dock to say, 'Peace be with you?' Again, we are told that the judge 'does not seem to have done anything unfitting to his high position.' Was it fitting to his high position to get angry with a prisoner for asking a question that he could not answer, and to blurt out in retort, 'I'll *ferk* him?' It must here be noted that the experience of the Quakers was, that those judges who made a matter of importance of this 'hat-honour,' were also such as made it a practice to try and terrify the prisoner by threats or abuse—a most unjust and illegal proceeding. Another act of Judge Glynn hardly fitting his high position, quite unnoticed by T. H., was the illegal and violent taking away of the Quakers' books, which they were showing to the people outside after the first portion of the trial in order to disprove the false charges brought against them. Fox asked the Judge, on being ordered a third time to remove his hat, 'When did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews, the people of God, or amongst the heathen? and if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law, either written or printed.' To this T. H. has a note, in which he seems to think he has settled Fox's hat once for all *very cleverly*:—'For him the proceedings of an English Court of Justice in the seventeenth century was to be modelled on the customs of an Oriental people two thousand years before that date.' This is not fair, for:—1. The laws of the Protectorate England did profess to be modelled on the Bible. 2. Fox also asked Glynn (the part of his question which made him so angry because he could not answer it), 'If the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law either written or printed,' adding, 'Tell me where it is printed in any statute book, that I may read it.' It must also be noted that Judge Glynn accepted Fox's Bible position, for, after sending the Quakers down among the thieves because Fox was one too many for him, as soon as he had thought of a way to 'have him fast' on his Bible point, he sent for the prisoners



again, and, in a manner hardly fitting his high position, demanded, 'Come, when had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me. I have you fast now;' and, Fox being again one too many for him, he cried again, 'Take them away gaoler.' T.H. lets off Chief Justice Glynn very easily for fining the Quakers, and committing them to gaol till they paid the fine, for wearing their hats in court. It must be remembered that Oliver Cromwell, whom Judge Glynn made such a point of representing, had made no objection to Fox's hat; and it was not legal to charge them with contempt of court, especially when the other charges brought against them were admitted to be false, and when it must have been evident to the judge that they were quiet, law-abiding people, who had been very rudely treated and very illegally brought to trial. Another of T.H.'s foot-notes, that on p. 129, must also be briefly referred to, specious as it may appear to those who have not given much thought to the subject. 'It is strange that Fox, with his intimate acquaintance with the Bible, should not have perceived the real point at issue between oriental and occidental customs, that among the Jews, as with so many Eastern nations, it was not by uncovering the head, but by "loosing the shoes from off the feet," that reverence was shown to a superior power.' Where in the whole Bible is there an instance of people taking off their shoes out of reverence to a judge, a court, or a religious building? As to the case of Moses before the bush, the one solitary instance of shoe-doffing mentioned in the Bible, that seems only to find its parallel in the case, so slurred over by T.H. through want of understanding, of George Fox's walking barefoot through the streets of Lichfield—doubtless because his boots were bad conductors of electricity. There is another reference to this subject on p. 40:—'The whole matter certainly now seems to belong to the category of the Infinitely Little; but, as we well know, it is even yet a point of honour with all judges and magistrates that no one shall remain covered in their presence. In pictures of the trial of King Charles I, both the royal prisoner and his judges are seen asserting their dignity by wearing their hats, and the clerks of the court are the only persons who are happily free from the ugly incumbrance.' A picture comes to one's mind in this connection of a wealthy, cultured, learned, æsthetic author of a *Life of George Fox*, entering the steeplehouse of Fenny Drayton in company with the rector, carefully removing his hat immediately upon entering, and, while he examines the aisles and the chancel, the pulpit and the Purefoy tombs with their Latin inscriptions, carrying his hat demurely before him in his hand. One wonders whether his hat became 'an ugly incumbrance' immediately upon entering this building, or where was it the greater incumbrance—on his head, or in his hand? It suits T.H.'s purpose to belittle

the Quakers' hat-wearing, which was the severest blow popery and its allies had ever received. As a matter of fact it is not too much to say, that it was the Quaker hat-wearing that kept freedom of conscience from being utterly stifled out in this country under the later Stuarts, and, repeated at intervals since, has preserved intact that tradition of indomitable fearlessness and impregnable integrity which is even yet associated in the public mind with the name 'Quaker.'

—*George Fox and his Latest Biographer, pp. 21-23.*

It should be further remarked that T. H.'s reference to "the customs of an oriental people *two thousand years before that date*," would seem to imply George Fox's ignorance of contemporary oriental customs, and a somewhat slavish adherence to the past. The absurdity of such an inference must be evident to anyone acquainted with the *Journal* and *Epistles*, where his letters to Mahommedans show an intimate acquaintance with the Koran, and in one place, speaking of hat-doffing, he quotes a Turkish proverb, that "Christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats and showing their bare heads to one another." George Fox, however, did not put forward any either old or eastern custom as a reason why he did not put off his hat, but gave the judge to understand that the responsibility rested with him to give law or reason for commanding its removal.

Again, in connection with the phrase, so unjustifiably used by T. H., and so glibly repeated by "Chaltrome," about "defying" the judge, it is only needful to read the first Quakers' writings to discover how untrue such an aspersion is as regards their attitude towards authority. At Lancaster, George Fox, being asked how he showed his respect for the judge if not by removing his hat, replied, "By coming when he calls for me;" and the truth of these words is exemplified by Quaker prisoners being often allowed to go about their business free from restraint and without bail under promise to return by a certain time.

Some notice should also be taken here of the dispute between Fox, Penn and others on the one hand, and Perrot &c. on the other, relative to the removal of the hat during vocal prayer in their meetings, referred to by Joseph Latchmore in the article printed above. Thomas Hodgkin gives it as his opinion that, "The reason generally alleged by the later Friends, that the removal of the covering of the head is a sign of reverence to God, which ought not to be rendered to any of his creatures, seems to be an afterthought, at least I do not find it brought forward in Fox's *Journal*." That Fox himself did not believe there was really any honour or reverence in uncovering the head, is evident from his speaking of the so-called hat-honour. The history of the Perrot difficulty, however, and the character of the man as evidenced

both before and after this dispute, go to prove Fox's judgment to have been a true and a wise one, namely that it was a "leading off into outward things and janglings about them," Perrot and his followers being an anarchic influence, and their contentions not sufficiently well grounded. To put it briefly, George Fox's objection to Perrot's advocacy of hat-wearing during "prayer," and the Quaker custom of uncovering when rising to speak in meeting, were not due to a belief that God specially loved bare-headedness, or claimed it as an honour due to him; but these were portions of long-established religious custom which Fox and others saw it was expedient to preserve at that time, for the sake of order. There is a close parallel between Fox's attitude towards Perrot, and also towards the Wilkinson-Storey separators, and that of Luther towards Carlstadt and the Anabaptists.

To resume the narrative, one day soon after his return from the North, Pickard made use of the Falmouth Free Library Reference Department, to get the names of some newspapers he required from the Newspaper Directory there. The Sub-Librarian in charge seemed to be unaware of any exclusive rule that would forbid him so to do; and it was only on Pickard's leaving that he told him he was sorry he could not admit him again, as one of the Librarians had just been and seen him there, and had left orders that he was not again to be admitted, not being a Falmouth resident. Pickard was naturally surprised to receive this information, and the Sub-Librarian seemed not a little puzzled himself, not having been acquainted with such exclusiveness in the Reference Departments of other Free Libraries. Falmouth people have since expressed surprise at this proceeding, and, even now when printing, it is not clear whether the Falmouth Public Library authority has a rule against non-residents using the Reference Department, or whether there was some special object in excluding Pickard on that occasion. Be this as it may, he was not and is not desirous of making a personal matter of it, and has not since made any attempt to gain admission; but considering the reason given for his exclusion pointed to a lack of public spirit on the part of the authority, which was not to the interest either of the town of Falmouth or its Free Library, he sent a letter to the *Falmouth Packet* as under:—

### **"Wanted—Public Spirit.**

*"To the Editor of the Falmouth Packet.*

"There is one thing most essential to the well-being and prosperity of communities, a thing much lacking in present-day public life generally, and noticeably so in Falmouth, namely,

public spirit. It is not my purpose here to recount the signs of this lack; but one matter has recently come under my notice which it will be to the advantage of the Falmouth people to be reminded of. This is the fact of the reference department of the so-called Free Public Library being exclusively reserved for the use of the inhabitants of the borough. Now, while this reservation is both usual and advisable in the lending department of a Free Library, it is not to the honour or advantage of a town to restrict the use of its reference library to its own inhabitants. During a recent journey in the North of England, I have had the opportunity of taking particular note, in Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Nottingham, of the cosmopolitan and beneficent character of the reference libraries in these towns; and consider it one of the finest features of municipal life that such places are not only provided for the use of the inhabitants, but offer hospitality to studious and well-behaved visitors. Surely if the Falmouth people realised their responsibility in possessing such an institution, they would not consider it to their advantage or to their honour to limit its rational use. It is not like a lending library, where the number of borrowers in demand of one book very properly limits the privilege of borrowing to the ratepayers and inhabitants. There is not much fear of the Falmouth Reference Library being overcrowded, and the more it is used the more encouragement is there to increase its capacity for usefulness by the donation of books. I would suggest, therefore, that the Falmouth Free Public Library authority should follow the example of Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Nottingham, Bristol, and every other Free Public Reference Library with which I am acquainted, and throw its reference department open to the reasonable use of the public generally.

“Flushing; 20, Ninth, 1896. Edward Pickard.”

—*Falmouth Packet*; September 26, 1896.

At this time two subjects were attracting a considerable amount of public attention, the Pope's refusal to recognise the validity of what are called “Anglican orders,” and the agitation on behalf of the Armenians. The *Western Morning News* of 21, Ninth, 1896, contained two leading articles, the one deprecating the attack that was being made upon “Lord” Roseberry for not putting himself at the head of the agitation for war with Turkey, or perhaps more correctly speaking for calling names at a distance, scuttling, and handing Turkey over to Russia, in which attack the *Spectator* was blamed for taking a leading part, the other a sensible statement of satisfaction that the recent attempt to bring about a union between the English Church and the Church of Rome had failed. In the latter, Gladstone had “sinned against



light when he seemed to suggest the possibility of an infallible Pope going back upon the decision of his infallible predecessors." In the former, "Lord Roseberry might, no doubt, have led the country against an inaction, which is so repugnant to English feeling, that we have even some self-contempt of ourselves when we contemplate it. But what would have been the end? Responsible Ministers would fail to carry out the national desire, and that impotence which we feel is almost a degradation would have been made ridiculous by its accompaniment of the sort of bombast which makes a fool of the Irish dynamiter." On reading these two articles, Pickard felt that the occasion had come, when what had for some time been forming in his mind from observation of the feverish, unstable and unsubstantial nature of the agitation then on foot, could rightly find expression. He therefore sat down and wrote out a letter to the Editor of the *Western Morning News*, which he considered was calculated to brace for right action while checking bluster and incontinent meddling. The letter was sent and inserted.

#### "ENGLAND AND TURKEY.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Morning News.'

"The two leading articles in today's issue of the *Western Morning News* are such as call for public recognition, striking, as both of them do, the true English note of spirit combined with continence. It is curious, also, that both articles should—the one in so many words and the other implicitly—point out the danger of being led by men like Gladstone, whose emotions are better than their judgment is wise. It is a pity that a man with, in many respects, so high a public character, should close his public career by two such lamentable errors of judgment as are, both his eagerness to throw England into the arms of the Pope, and his willingness to throw the seething populations of the Ottoman Empire into the hands of the Tzar. It is one thing for England, after taking counsel with herself, to take upon herself, with such moral or other support as she may deserve or claim from other powers, to restore order out of the anarchy of the East. But it is quite another thing to take such action as will hand over the sufferers from Sultanic violence to Siberian oppression. It is one thing to depose the present Sultan and his Government (a thing desired by the Turks themselves), and to work in concert with the better portion of the Turks in the reform of their Government, at the same time helping those subject nations which are capable of doing so to form themselves into self-governing States under English or European protection. It is quite another thing to do as the *Spectator* proposes, commit the unpardonable crime of handing Constantinople and the Eastern

Mediterranean to the control of Russian obscurantism. There is much might be said, if there were space, in favour of the Turk; there is much more might be said in favour of the Mahomedan as a governing person. When so much appears in the Press to show that the Turks outside official circles are themselves desirous of a change of government and willing to aid the Powers of Europe in carrying out reforms, provided justice is done to them along with the 'Christian' populations, it is of the utmost importance that the national agitation against Turkish misrule should not degenerate either into a still-born 'crusade' against the Mussulman or into a reversal of the proper English policy in the East, namely that of checking Russian advance to the Mediterranean, and encouraging the various nationalities of the Ottoman Empire in the development of their character and resources.

"It is of great importance that the once strong but now anarchic magistrate of the East should feel the power of a stronger than he, compelling him either to turn out or submit to superior control. But it is of even greater importance that in his place the stronger should be better and not worse; and the present condition of Russia, and of its 'autocrat,' point to a change from Turkish to Russian control being a change out of the frying-pan into the fire. No; sadder even than the Armenian atrocities, sad as they are, is the craven attitude of the more enlightened nations of Europe towards the Tzar of barbaric Siberia, the actual preference among many in England even today of the friendship of Russia over that of France, and the temporary wave of servility to Russia that is at present apparently dominant in France itself. It is to be hoped that England will not let these waves of fear and servility deprive her of that position which is offered now for her acceptance, the position of the first nation of the world at this crisis, the one to dare and to lead the way.

Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 21, Ninth, 1896."

---*Western Morning News*; September 23, 1896.

Note.—After twelve months have elapsed, including the Greco-Turkish War, and much has been read and heard of a mutually contradictory nature, it is difficult to say where the "*superior* control" is to come from. There may be as good a chance of reform from within the Turkish Empire as from without, and the position of Sultan is not an enviable one. The principal cause of complaint in those countries is after all financial, for which the "Powers" including England are largely responsible; and at present those "Powers," or the financiers that control them, seem mainly concerned with getting what they can of the plunder. Under such conditions no Sultan has much encouragement to carry out the "*reforms*" they demand.

Shortly after the writing of the above letter, occurred the sudden death of Archbishop Benson in Hawarden steeplehouse. It is striking that his successor should be a great schoolmaster, who followed Arnold at Rugby, is author of an essay on "The Education of the World," and was elevated to the position of Primate of the Church of England largely on account of the Education question being so prominently before the public. These things are not without their significance, and point to the true work of the Church of England being educational rather than religious, the guidance of the people in the ways of virtue and intelligence, not the binding of them back to out-worn creeds and ceremonies. This, however, is very far from being understood, much less acknowledged by its recognised leaders. The failure of the attempt at reunion with Rome, seems to have only increased the zeal of such "Churchmen" as "Viscount" Halifax, the Archbishop of York, and the new Bishop of London, in other directions. The last mentioned, "Bishop Creighton attended as the representative of the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church at the Coronation of the Czar," a proceeding which the *Western Daily Mercury* of 20, Eleventh, 1896, says "was not without excellent and far-reaching result." Somewhat later, again, exchange visits took place between high officials of the Russian and English Churches, great attention being paid to the gorgeous and imposing displays of religious ceremonial for which the Eastern Churches are noted. Contemporaneously with the anti-Turkish and anti-Mahomedan agitation in the religious organisations of this country, efforts were also made to bring about a closer relationship with the officials of the Greek Church, whose pompous ceremonial of "blessing" the bare-headed, kneeling Greek soldiers together with the foreign phil-Hellenic legion, was so quickly followed by the panics and disasters of the Greco-Turkish War, and the convalescence of the "Sick Man" at Constantinople. Meanwhile the Pope and those who manipulate the organisation centred at Rome, are by no means averse to these operations, nor is it a source of trouble to them to see their rivals discredited and weakened while playing into their hands. The humiliation of Greece and its hierarchy, with that of the Armenians, only leaves the course the clearer for the two remaining disputants for the dominion of darkness, Russia and Rome. Surely England can do better than follow its Gladstones and its Halifaxes in alternately cajoling the one and the other, and trying to patch up a so-called reunion on a basis of early "ecumenical councils." Christianity and our national history both call us to make the Church of England the home of ideas and aims widely different from these.

At the Truro Diocesan Conference in Tenthmonth, 1896, a

decided effort to re-establish priestly authority over the people of this country, and especially of the county of Cornwall, was manifest. This gave rise to lengthened correspondence in the West of England newspapers, the two points upon which the chief attention was directed being the proposed completion of Truro Cathedral at an estimated cost of £50,000, and some startling statements made and advice given by the bishop under the heading, "Social Purity." In reference to the latter subject a letter appeared in the *Western Daily Mercury*, 2, Eleventh, 1896, signed "H," calling attention to the following portion of the bishop's address at the conference:—"One of their best clergy had told him that during the last two years there had been only one marriage in his parish of 2,000 souls that had even possibly been pure, and other reports reached him that pointed in the same direction. Let him lay down a law for them. Wherever a vicar had reasonable suspicion let him discreetly talk it over with the man when he came for his banns or licence, and if the man admitted the sin let no church bells be rung or choir chant at that dishonoured marriage. (Applause.) If the man was found afterwards to have deceived his parish priest let him be branded as a liar who had not only robbed his wife of the honour that was due to her, but thrown his own honour to the wind and lowered the standard character of his village."—*Western Morning News*; Oct. 31, 1896. The writer of the letter referred to described this as "an ex-cathedra exposition of the views of the Holy British Inquisition," and expressed his indignation further as follows:—"The man who marries under the circumstances alluded to is really carrying out the highest form of reparation in his power. Nevertheless, through the medium of that semi-human soul, the man who in all ages, all countries, and all civilizations and societies has been the curse of nations, the priest; through this merciless tyrant, his pillory, and his methods, the man in question is to be held up to public reprobation as—well, let the Church Congress supply the words." Pickard did not consider that a criticism of this nature on the portion of the address quoted above, should be let pass without some decided appeal to the higher aspects of the question, those concerned with the man's own conscience and responsibility rather than with the "sacramental" and ceremonial considerations of "his parish priest." He therefore wrote the following letter to the Editor of the *Western Daily Mercury*, which, however, was not inserted:—

#### "MORALITY IN CORNWALL.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Daily Mercury.'

"As is so commonly the case, one regrets that the writer of the letter on the above subject in today's issue of the *Western*



*Daily Mercury* should not have signed his name, 'H' being quite insufficient to give him a position of proper responsibility for what he writes. Perhaps, however, this is no reason why his letter should be ignored, or the facts it points to lost sight of. This letter, though apparently written from no high principle, nor with any specially good purpose, means much. First, it shows how the average Englishman, though tolerant of priests so long as they leave him pretty much alone and content themselves with going through their religious performances, soon rebels when they set out to be priests in fact as well as in name. Second, the priests are cutting the ground from under their own feet by 'dishonouring' a marriage which they are only asked to perform in order to 'honour.' Sinners of this sort will not be likely to prefer a 'dishonoured' marriage to dishonour of a less pretentious kind. Third, if it results in the cessation or reduction of the number of cases where the priestly function is to 'honour' the dishonourable, it will perhaps be a good thing. For, fourth, it will throw people back upon their own responsibility, and make them feel that there is no cheap dodge by which a dishonourable act can be honoured. Fifth, it may even cause people to take more care to *honour their own actions*, and therefore dispense with priests altogether. Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth ; 2, Eleventh, 1896."

The same subject being again raised some days later, Tregelles wrote a letter in defence of the Cornish name, which appeared in the *Western Daily Mercury* as under :—

#### "CORNISH MORALITY.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Daily Mercury.'

"It is not a sign of strength on the part of the officials of the Church of England in Cornwall, to publish vague and general statements reflecting on the character of the people, in such a manner that they can neither be proved nor disproved, and in such a manner also as to discourage instead of to encourage such improvement as may be required. These vague and general statements are made so as to convey the impression that Cornwall is an exceptionally immoral county.

"Now there are some points, which, in fairness to the Cornish people, deserve a notice that does not seem to have been given them. Compared with the rest of the country, this county appears to be remarkably free from the more serious forms of immorality, such as prostitution and adultery—forms of immorality which do not as a rule come under the immediate cognisance of the officials of the Church of England. The comparative absence of these more destructive forms of sin, should in justice be placed in the opposite scale, even if it be a fact, which has not been proved,

that the Cornish people are more given to 'anticipate marriage' than others. But it must also be remembered that the officials of the Church of England are not here in the same position for obtaining the facts upon which alone statistics are reliable, as they are in other parts of England. In the first place there is the large proportion of the respectable population that are married by the Methodist organisations. Secondly, the practice of marrying at the registry office does not obtain in this county to the extent that it does in some parts. In face of the serious allegations that are now being circulated through the medium of the press against the Cornish name, I must appeal to thee to insert this defence of a people who are known, whether in the North of England or the South of Africa or wherever they go, as an exceptionally moral people.

Edwin Tregelles.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 13, Eleventh, 1896."

—*Western Daily Mercury*; November 14, 1896.

As the above letter was reprinted in another paper, and favourably commented upon, but in such a manner as might possibly lead to its object and purport being misconstrued, Tregelles found it necessary to send an additional communication to the Editor of this paper, which was duly published, as under:—

"Thy reference to and quotation from my letter on the above subject which appeared in the *Western Daily Mercury*, might possibly, combined with what follows, give rise to the impression that the letter excuses looseness. I must here state that this was the very reverse of my intention. Far from rejoicing at the want of strength shown by the officials of the Church of England in their references to these matters, I should rejoice to see them much more strongly and effectually contending against immorality of all kinds. My object was to defend the Cornish name from unjust aspersions, relative to other parts of the country. It only remains to add, that looseness in any form is discreditable to a self-respecting man or woman.

Edwin Tregelles."

In the meantime a lengthy correspondence had been proceeding in the columns of the *Western Morning News* on the proposed completion of Truro Cathedral. The correspondence was opened by a long letter from Joseph Hammond of Austell, explaining his reasons for having opposed the proposal at the Conference, as inopportune in view of the poverty of many of the Cornish clergy, who, he considered, as "ministers of Christ," had a claim before "bricks and mortar." He, however, stated that, as "a man under authority," he was prepared to forward the project in obedience to the wishes of the bishop and the majority of the Conference. After the correspondence had continued for nearly a week, Pickard wrote under the heading:—

## "TRURO CATHEDRAL.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Morning News.'

"One of thy correspondents tells us 'there was such a hubbub' at the Truro Diocesan Conference that nobody knew he had moved an amendment. Such also must be the feeling of uncertainty which afflicts the minds of readers of the *Western Morning News* as they peruse the letters under various headings which extend the area of the discussions of that Conference. A 'man under authority' has the boldness to state that human life is of more consequence than stones and painted windows. But one pauses in suspense to inquire under whose authority he considers 'ministers (or servants) of Christ' to be placed, and whether the authority they acknowledge be one that honours conscience or degrades? If the authority of the Church of England be one that dishonours and degrades conscience, whatever else it honours or dishonours need concern Englishmen but little, for its power will wane and decay before that of an older and more skilled magician in that art. If, however, the Church of England honours conscience, then the matters discussed in its Conferences may be discussed with advantage by intelligent, self-respecting Englishmen in the light of day.

"It remains for the advocates of the extension of the pile at Truro to show what advantage such extension will serve, to prove the reasonableness and necessity of such an undertaking. For this, I submit, some more convincing arguments are required than the solitary one yet advanced, namely, to double the accomodation provided for an annual juvenile concert. Such arguments are the more required considering the many claims of life, in Cornwall and beyond it, for the surplus money of the propertied classes which seems to be so abundant. I would submit that a reduction of rents on the part of these classes would be welcomed by many in the county, as a patriotic manner of reducing the burdens of those who have too much wealth. Then, there is at present much suffering in Cornwall, as most people who did not attend the Diocesan Conference are probably aware. Surplus wealth may here find another opening. And if there should still be too much cash burning in their pockets, these would-be builders might be encouraged to improve their county's harbours. Perhaps these outlets are enough. Later one might readily supply more.

"It can hardly have escaped the notice of the people of Cornwall that one of thy correspondents (the Diocesan Inspector, Truro) has estimated the yield of a graduated religious income-tax or poll-tax, to be levied by the priests on the county. To be sure he allows 'for leakage;' but I for one protest against my refusal to pay him his 'weekly pence' for five years being thus labelled,

and sincerely hope that the people of Cornwall will not allow so large a leakage of their none too plenteous coin, or manhood either, to be sprung upon them unawares. Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 7, Eleventh, 1896."

—*Western Morning News*; November 10, 1896

About this time several books on Socialism were borrowed and read through critically. One of these was Kidd's "*Social Evolution*," a book which had quickly attained a very large circulation. Having read it carefully and critically through aloud with Tregelles, taking notes, Pickard thus briefly summed up in a letter his conclusions upon it:—

"*Social Evolution* is ably written, though much of it is anything but scientific, and the way things are manipulated to serve the author's purpose is enough to make you throw the book in the fire at times. There is a quantity of cant, put in to please various sets of people; there are many misleading statements and generalisations; many serious omissions; and a great deal of special pleading. But, granting his base to be correct, namely that God is a fiction and conscience made up of fictions, the main thread of the argument is sound, and the conclusions unavoidable. To those theorists who are trying to stand upon the same base, whether religionists, socialists, or scientists, I leave the task of disproving these conclusions. They will be bound to accept them, and patch up a reconciliation. If people prefer religion and science to God and conscience, this is what they must expect—the 'friendly rivalry' of the sweated Hindoo and the sweated English extended over the whole world 'on a basis of equality of opportunity,' and upheld by the most efficacious 'superrational sanction' for injustice. But, as W. Q. Judge said at the last Theosophical Convention in London that he was at, and the last I was at, plain people pay little attention to such books as this. And it is they who have the future in their hands, not the theorists."

On Firstday morning, the 8th. of Eleventh, 1896, Tregelles, being at Falmouth meeting, spoke as follows:—"Some complain of want of power to do right. It is want of will. When the wish to do good arises, *do* it; the wish to do good will grow. Use it or lose it, is the law of power. When some came to Jesus, admiring his power, he said, 'If any man will serve me, let him take up his cross daily, and deny himself.' Keep selfishness down; yield to the wish to do right. The only power needed to do good, is the wish to do good." Somebody got up in the gallery directly after Tregelles had spoken, and said, that the wish to do good could not exist until we acknowledged "the one sacrifice of Christ," and we could not do good without the Holy Spirit.



But this attempt to unsay what had been said, fell very flat on the company, who evidently felt it was superfluous to talk about the rigmorale of the thing when the fact was there, that the will to do good was itself the holy spirit, and the sacrifice of Christ was the denying of self just spoken of.

Two months later, Tregelles again spoke at Falmouth meeting, rising pretty soon and saying:—"When Herod was told by the Persians that they had come to worship the king, he desired them to inform him where they had discovered him, as he also wished to worship him. But when he found where Christ was, he did his worst to crush and murder him. Let us look out! and see that we do not kill and destroy the king—Christ, while professing to worship him." A long, vapouring address followed upon this, calculated to do the very thing warned against, namely to crush the life out of any in that company who had any, especially if that life were but a beginning—a small child.

On the 28th. of Second, 1897, Tregelles found it to be his duty to attend Falmouth meeting, and to sit facing the meeting with his hat on. This caused some irritation and consternation at the time, but has since borne good fruit in causing some of the members there to undertake a larger share of their responsibility.

In the *Christian World* for "February" 11, 1897, appeared an article by Leo Tolstoy entitled "War and Reason," printing and commenting upon a letter recently written by a young Dutchman named J. K. Van der Ver to the Commander of the National Guard in the district of Midelburg, Holland, in which he explained, under the heading "Thou Shalt Not Kill," the reasons why he could not conscientiously obey the command to appear for enrolment in the National Guard. Tregelles's attention was attracted by this case of individual obedience to conscience; but, on reading the letter carefully through, he found it contained some very erroneous notions, and, as presented by Tolstoy to the readers of the *Christian World*, was likely to mislead the unwary and confuse rather than enlighten those who were desirous of knowing what truth required of them. He therefore wrote a letter to the Editor of the *Christian World*, as under, which, however, was not inserted:—

"‘THOU SHALT NOT KILL.’"

"To the Editor of the 'Christian World.'"

"It is refreshing to read the letter of J. K. Van der Ver, declining to bear arms, unearthed and brought to public view by Leo Tolstoi, in thy issue of the 11th. But while one cannot but be glad to hear of a man who is willing to act according to his conscience, it would not be right to allow several fallacies in that letter to go by un-

noticed. The letter is headed, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and the writer states that though he 'is not a Christian he understands this command better than most Christians.' Is this correct?

"It must be known to all readers of the Bible that this command was given to a nation of warriors, who were at that very time on their march. It must also be well known that Moses, who issued this command, also ordained the penalty of death for quite a number of offences against his law. (In the very chapter before the one from which these words were taken, is an instance of this, see Deut. iv, 46.) Everybody was expected to take his share of the responsibility of executing the sentence, despite feelings of any kind, even of kinship or the nearest natural ties. See Exodus xxi, 29.

"The writer speaks of 'murdering at the word of command,' being not only 'against his conscience, but without any personal motive;' and further on, 'In the case in point I can be ordered to shoot people who have never done me any harm.' It must be evident to those who know their Bibles that 'Thou shalt not kill,' was intended to prohibit the destroying of one's personal enemies, but the numerous instances of the punishment of death given in the law of Moses, go to show that, contrary to J. K. Van der Ver's opinion, this injunction was not meant to restrain men from executing justice. What should we think of the policeman who refused to do his duty because a criminal had not done *him* any harm?

"It is a pity to see any man of conscience mixing up the killing of animals with that of man, in the way the writer of this letter has done, when he says, 'I can neither commit murder myself nor can I bear to see a brute slaughtered. In order that no animal may be killed on my account I have become a vegetarian.' No one can profess to imagine that the Mosaic precept applied to the animal world, if he has the least acquaintance with the Pentateuch, and its numerous offerings and sacrifices; and its code of 'clean' and 'unclean' animals.

"One cannot but conclude that the stand taken by this young man against bearing arms would have appealed to the minds and consciences of people more strongly if it *had* been based on the law of Christ, and had not rested so much on a mistaken and careless interpretation of that of Moses, combined with a quite natural dislike to bloodshedding which is felt by most healthy minds, but is not sufficient warrant for abstaining from taking life altogether—men, especially men of conscience having to do things that are right, apart from their natural feelings.

"In the article of Leo Tolstoi itself, there is more than one statement open to criticism, but space will not permit. He is right *in stating that* 'the refusal of single persons' to bear arms, is the

true method of doing away with armies and war. No arbitration treaties (though useful in their place) can do the work of individual faithfulness to the calls of conscience. Edwin Tregelles.

“Flushing, near Falmouth; 18, Second, 1897.”

“In consequence of the Editor of the *Christian World* not publishing the above letter, it was sent to several other papers for insertion; but none of them seem to have printed it, although the Assistant Editor of the *Methodist Times* wrote: “Personally I agree with you that the subject is one of importance, and your letter is such a strong common-sense statement of fact that I should like to see it in print.”

During the previous summer an attempt had been made in Falmouth to open the new Free Library to the public on Firstdays, volunteers being forthcoming to relieve the sub-librarian of the extra labour involved. The religious people, however—more noticeably the chapel people, raised a great outcry against it, on the ground that it would endanger the “day of rest” for “the working classes;” with the result that the decision of the Library Authority was reversed, and the Library closed on the Firstday of the week. Considering the energy and success of this Sabbatarian outburst, and the fact that the press did not venture to do more than disavow any bigoted Sabbatarianism of its own, it seemed, to say the least, rather inconsequent, not twelve months afterwards, on the occasion of the successful capture of the East Country Fishing Fleet for Falmouth on account of their refusal to conform to the Mounts’ Bay fishermen’s conditions of being in harbour one night in the week (Seventhday night), to find not only the press but apparently the whole of Sabbatarian Falmouth throwing its Sabbatarian notions to the winds, and somewhat incontinently announcing its satisfaction at what it seems to have considered a cleverly conducted piece of business. The *Cornish Echo* in its column by “The Bystander” thus expressed itself upon the situation:—“The sojourn of about a thousand men for nearly a couple of months at Falmouth must inevitably be a boon and a blessing to the shopkeepers. In contradistinction to the pampered Newlyn men, the East Country fishermen work hard, and hard work at sea entails a voracious appetite, and a voracious appetite means busy times for our butchers, bakers, and grocers.” As there did not seem to be a single voice raised to so much as suggest that there was any other view of the matter than that taken by the Falmouth shopkeepers, or to hint that a town might not deserve to prosper on a method of beggar-my-neighbour, Pickard sent a brief letter to the *Cornish Echo* with the object of enabling the Falmouth people to see themselves as others saw them. The reference to “throwing its cap in air” was made without

any thought of connection with the Hat Crusade, and it was not till "The Bystander" called attention to that connection, that the aptness of the phrase as an expression of incontinent and over-hasty self-congratulation became fully apparent.

"HARDLY PATRIOTIC.

"To the Editor of the 'Cornish Echo.'

"One is not surprised to find the Falmouth press throwing its cap in air and sounding a loud Hurrah! over a capture for the port of a fishery which will bring custom to its shopkeepers. But one hardly expected to find this capture made the excuse for an unjustifiable sneer at the 'pampered Newlyn men,' coupled with praise of the Eastcountrymen because they are compelled by their employers to work seven nights a week, and have no leisure for anything but satisfying a voracious appetite with what the Falmouth butchers and grocers are eager to supply. I do not wish to say anything against the Eastcountry fishermen, or to disparage their industry; but surely it is hardly patriotic, to say the least of it, for a Cornish newspaper to sneer at the Cornish fishermen for being their own masters and preferring some leisure for the cultivation of the mind. It is more than probable that the Eastcountry fishermen would gladly have fallen in with the Newlyn proposals, had they not been under the grinding command of others. Of course we shall now hear no more in the Falmouth press about the 'observance of the Sabbath,' or the importance of 'a day of rest' to 'the working classes.'

"Flushing; 8, Second, 1897. Edward Pickard."

"The Bystander" (who is the Editor) devoted most part of his column to the above letter, apparently with a desire to provoke further rejoinder. This, however, Pickard had no intention to supply. His letter had been published, and that was sufficient. The absurd remarks about "irremovable headgear" required no comment, and he was not prepared at that time to enter into a detailed defence of the Cornish fishermen. It may not be out of place here, however, to reprint the article, and make some comments upon several points contained in it, together with a brief notice of subsequent developments in reference to the mackerel fishery, Falmouth, and Mounts Bay.

"Prithee, my sombre friend, Mr. Pickard, take off your hat and throw into the air; but I am forgetting, you never take off your hat, even in 'steeple-houses.' *Entre nous*, I am at one with you in the hat crusade, and regret that the hat is not an irremovable part of the human structure. If we had been born with hats what an amount of physical exertion we might have been saved; how many embarrassing moments, when we had forgotten to remove the tile in polite society, unendured; and last, but decidedly



Not least, how many hatter's bills should we have been spared. That exasperating phrase, 'Where did you get that hat,' would never have been coined had that covering been designed by the Almighty as an integral part of the human anatomy, and it would never have devolved upon you to create commotions in 'steeple-houses' by insisting upon retaining your hat upon your precious cranium. To continue, I may say with regard to your 'hat crusade' I believe 'there's money in it,' if only you can invent some hat that is irremovable, and can get Fashion to decree that the moment an infant is born the patent headgear shall be fastened in some patent way by some patent adhesive substance. When all that is accomplished, Mr. Pickard, you will no longer need to risk your attire by being thrust forth from sacred edifices by sturdy and indignant Churchwardens. Float a company, my hat crusading friend, for the manufacture and sale of irremovable headgear, and make me Managing Director with, say, a salary of £1,000 a year!

"To revert to your letter Mr. Pickard where you, with your mind dwelling on the Hat Crusade condemn the Falmouth Press for 'throwing its cap in air and sounding a loud hurrah over the capture for the port which will bring custom to the shopkeepers,' your reasoning and facts are very much astray. When I used the expression 'pampered Newlyn men' it was intended not as a sneer but as a sober fact. Newlyn fishermen are pampered; they have been spoiled by the generosity of Mr. T. B. Bolitho and other charitable folk. It was admitted during the controversy last year that even in the busy season they work on an average three to four nights a week. During the fishing season they live with the utmost prodigality, and in the winter—well they don't starve, but they may be seen in scores wending their way to Mr. Bolitho's residence seeking charity, which is never refused them. Why was it, Mr. Pickard, that during the Newlyn riots the Penzance people with one accord condemned the Newlynites? The people of Penzance knew by long experience the character of their neighbours, and had no sympathy with a war waged on strangers under the hypocritical cry of 'Sabbath,' but which was in reality a plea for continued indolence. Mr. Pickard is again wrong when he says that the Eastcountrymen are 'compelled to work seven nights a week and have no leisure.' The share system prevails much more among the Eastcountry fishermen than among the fishermen of Newlyn and St. Ives. They are quite as much their own masters as the Cornishmen, if not more so, and are as Godfearing, upright, and hardworking a body of men as can be found if England were searched over.

"To assert that the Newlyn fishermen caused the commotion last summer solely on account of their anxiety about the

'observance of the Sabbath' or because, as Mr. Pickard puts it, they 'desired some leisure for the cultivation of the mind' is the essence of nonsense. If Mr. Pickard will take the pains to visit Newlyn on the Sabbath he will find groups of fishermen not at places of worship, but some standing idly about, others mending nets, and some cleaning boats.

"During the recent conferences the 'Sunday observance' question had to be dropped entirely by the Newlyn men because untenable, it would not hold water, and the whole point became one of £. s. d. The Eastcountrymen were asked to come in on Friday, and remain idle until Monday evening, so that the London markets might be cleared of fish, and high prices obtained when a fresh supply arrived on Wednesday. It practically meant keeping the London market without fish from Saturday till Wednesday, in order that a short supply might keep up the price, and the Newlyn fishermen thereby obtain a big financial return for a minimum amount of exertion. The Eastcountrymen declared that it was impossible to make their voyage to the Cornish waters remunerative if they idled away three days a week, and as the journey to and from the fishing grounds can not be undertaken in a day they have refused to submit to the conditions which the Cornishmen have sought to impose upon them.

"Falmouth, I believe, in offering the Eastcountrymen every facility in carrying on their business without molestation or restriction has recognised what Penzance recognised, that the Sunday observance question does not enter into the matter. Schools of mackerel are not to be gathered together at the mere bidding of the fishermen; the fishermen have to adopt their plans according to the caprices of the fish; when circumstances favour the spending of the Sabbath on shore they do so gladly, but to submit to a fixed rule that they shall remain idle from Friday till Monday night is impracticable, unless wives and children on the coast of East Anglia are to be allowed to starve.

"Let me enlighten Mr. Pickard further. The Newlyn fishermen have, when contrary winds prevail, returned to their harbour on Sunday. Do you suppose they leave their boats and hasten home to don their Sunday clothes and hie to a place of worship? No; they call to mind a certain parable of Our Saviour, and forthwith proceed to get their fish ashore and forwarded to Billingsgate.

"Another paragraph and I have finished with Mr. Pickard. He says it is hardly patriotic for a Cornish newspaper to sneer at Cornish fishermen. I emphatically deny the impeachment. The Bystander is known to and admires many of the Newlyn and St. Ives fishermen. They are a praiseworthy, but not a faultless lot of men. If the Cornish Press is to ignore the faults of *Cornishmen*, and only to sing their praises, then Mr. Pickard

had better drop his hat crusade and take up the position of Censor of the Press, and I will immediately and gladly discard the *role* of the Bystander. If I attempted to prove that Cornwall and Cornishmen are immaculate, people might justifiably accuse me of 'sneering' at Cornishmen. But Mr. Pickard is a peculiar individual with very peculiar notions, and so I must not wonder if my opinions do not coincide with his. Remember, Mr. Pickard, what George Herbert wrote :—

'Dare to be true. Nothing can need a lie ;

A fault, which needs it most, grows two thereby.'

—*Cornish Echo* ; February 12, 1897.

Notes upon the above article.—1. "Pampered Newlyn men ...spoiled by the generosity of Mr.T.B. Bolitho and other charitable folk." Is this the case with the Mousehole, Ives and Porthleven men also? Where did the "charitable folk" get their money from? Who bought the old pier and quay at Newlyn, paying an exorbitant price to the former owners? immediately upon which purchase, the fishermen's resources having been drained to the utmost, a new quay was built with borrowed money to accommodate the East Country fleet, the interest on which money had to be paid by quay dues ; whereupon began the struggle to crush the Cornishmen on the one hand, and to defend their old rights and character on the other. And what form does the "charity" take? "May be seen in scores wending their way to Mr. Bolitho's residence, seeking charity, which is never refused them." T. B. Bolitho is, amongst other things, a banker. He is also a fish-merchant, and sells pilchards to the Italians, who take a long credit. It seems that he does not consider it good business to pay the fishermen until he is himself paid ; but if they are "hard up," he "never refuses" to advance them a portion of what he owes them, at a small rate of interest until the cheques come in from the Mediterranean. It is possible that this may have been the nature of the transactions which "The Bystander" says the Newlyn fishermen "may be seen in scores wending their way to Mr. Bolitho's residence" to accomplish. 2. "Work on an average three or four nights a week." And quite enough, considering the severity of the toil, and the fact that, besides going out to sea, they have the fish to pack and sell, their boats to clean and nets to mend, and in some cases a bit of garden to attend to on shore in addition. Moreover, when the weather is suitable they go out five nights a week, and were willing at the London conference, for the sake of peace, to concede the Eastcountrymen six nights. 3. "During fishing season they live with the utmost prodigality." How does this compare with the same writer's statement in the previous week's issue: "In contradistinction to the pampered Newlyn fishermen, the East Country fishermen work hard, and hard work

at sea entails a voracious appetite, and a voracious appetite means busy times for our butchers, bakers, and grocers. I have often watched the delivery of stores to the East Country boats at the Newlyn Harbour, and marvelled at the liberal diet with which these men regale themselves." This would seem to contrast the voracity of the Eastcountrymen, as well as their industry, with its opposite in the "pampered Newlyn men." 4. Why did Penzance side against Newlyn? For the same reason that Falmouth did—on the beggar-my-neighbour method. And also because both Penzance and Falmouth are more under the thumb of the London wire-pullers and trade rings than Newlyn, Saint Ives, Porthleven, and other more genuinely Cornish towns and villages. 5. Pickard said nothing against the East Country fishermen as a class. Doubtless there are good and bad amongst them. But to say they are their own masters is giving the lie to their own statements, namely that they do not themselves object to the Newlyn rules, and would prefer to spend the week-end in harbour, but that they are servants of a company of capitalists whose wishes they must express and contend for. See *Cornishman*, February 18, a week after "The Bystander's" article:—"It would appear that the Cornishmen, in making a bold bid for abstinence from Saturday fishing, have 'lighted a fire that will not soon go out.' From newspaper reports from Lowestoft the fishermen seem to very strongly favour this idea of harbour for the two days in question." 6. "If Mr. Pickard will take the pains to visit Newlyn on the Sabbath he will find groups of fishermen not at places of worship, but some standing idly about, others mending nets, and some cleaning boats." Now this has been denied from Newlyn itself, and it was not confirmed by Tregelles's observations when there on a Firstday in the Summer. But supposing a few of them did so spend their time, how would it affect the point? They might be improving their minds more usefully in the manner described as above, than they would be by going to "places of worship." Certainly the average Cornishman is a better educated and more refined man than his social peer in most other parts of the country, and is not noted so much for a "voracious appetite" as for musical talents, preaching, knowing good literature and reading it, together with a preference for a modest income with leisure and independence, over more money with nothing but slavish toil. "Standing idly about." Would "The Bystander" thus describe a few hours spent in his garden, or his drawing-room? 7. "The 'Sunday-observance' question had to be dropped entirely by the Newlyn men, because untenable." It had to be dropped, because it was dubbed "religion" and ruled out of court; whereas the day of rest is not now a question of religion but of common sense. 8. "£.s.d." The whole Falmouth point is one of £.s.d. Much

of the Mounts Bay men's point is also £.s.d. They object to the market being glutted and prices made unremunerative, while their character is damaged by accumulations of stale fish. There is also the question of exterminating the mackerel from the English waters, as was recently feared in America, with the result that a close time had to be enforced. The two nights in harbour, or even the one night of the London compromise, would tend to avert such a calamity. 9. "Remain idle from Friday till Monday." This is not true. There are nets to mend, boats to clean, &c. Besides, it was from "Saturday" till "Monday" that they were asked to refrain from fishing. 10. "London market without fish from Saturday till Wednesday." Is that so dreadful? There are other fishing centres that supply London, and other kinds of fish besides mackerel. But according to the London compromise, by which "Sunday" night's fishing was allowed, it would only be from "Saturday" to "Tuesday" (or *one* shopping day, "Monday,") when the Londoners could not procure fresh Cornish mackerel! 11. "The journey to the fishing grounds cannot be undertaken in a day." This is by no means always the case. It should also be noted that by the London compromise the East-countrymen were not compelled to come into Newlyn harbour for the "Saturday" night, but only into some harbour. When the fish were far out at sea there was always Scilly to run to. So there would only be the one journey to Newlyn to make 'in a day.' The fact is, the Cornishmen had shown themselves willing to meet the Eastcountrymen fully half way at the conference, they themselves adhering to their old practice of being in harbour for the two nights. 12. "When circumstances favour the spending of the Sabbath on shore they do so gladly." Then "circumstances" don't often seem to "favour" it. 13. "Unless wives and children on the coast of East Anglia are to be allowed to starve?" But the Eastcountrymen should benefit equally with the Cornishmen by better and more regular prices; unless their "Sunday-caught" mackerel fetch extra prices in consequence of the Cornishmen's catches not arriving till a day later. It is stated that the fish brought in on "Monday" morning fetches twice or even three times as much as that brought in on "Tuesday." Who's is this £.s.d.? 14. From the last paragraph but one, it seems that the Newlyn men are not bigoted Sabbatarians. So much the better. They prize their day of rest, but do not mean to be slaves either to that or to the priests, whose idea of the "Sabbath" is a day when people shall not be allowed to do anything but come under their influence. Their great cry against the opening of the Free Library at Falmouth, was not to preserve a "day of rest" for "the working classes;" but to prevent a rival to their own shops. And thus, if the Newlyn men don't all of them regularly attend "places of



worship" and rig themselves out in "Sunday clothes" and "Sunday faces," they must not have a day of rest at all. The original idea of one day of rest in seven, and its legal enforcement by Moses and other lawgivers, was as a protection for the poor from oppression and an encouragement to their development. The religious people of today, however, would reverse this, and make the Firstday of the week a day for the priests to bring the poor under their power, the more effectually to enslave them for the other six; while such as do not choose to be hypnotised by the priests (by no means only those who claim the title) must work seven days a week, so that they may have no time to unbend either in mind or body. 15. "Not a faultless lot of men." Cornishmen not "immaculate." People should be encouraged to be *men*, not *lots* of men. Cornishmen are not immaculate; but it is not necessary for people to be immaculate before they begin to defend their own best interests; nor can they progress in that direction, unless they do.

A considerable portion of the East Country fleet came to Falmouth, and great preparations were made at and near the Docks to receive and supply them. They did not, however, remain many weeks, finding the distance from the fishing grounds too great. Meanwhile the Mounts Bay men were visited early by abundance of fish, the mackerel coming right in shore, and in spite of stormy weather good catches being obtained. Before many weeks had elapsed the whole of the fleet, including some Scotch boats which had come to Newlyn for the first time, were again in Mounts Bay.

Many attempts were made to cause the Mounts Bay fishermen to give way, and to discredit them in the press for not doing so. Amongst others a letter appeared in the *Western Morning News* which, while avowedly advocating "Sunday observance," really confused the issue by introducing the question of work on shore, which had not been raised. Tregelles took the opportunity to write a brief rejoinder to this, showing the point at issue to be, not whether any work of any kind should be done on the day called "Sunday," but whether the fishermen in Mounts Bay should spend one fixed night a week in harbour. As the *Western Morning News* did not insert his letter, other papers were tried, with the result that it appeared in the two principal Penzance papers, the *Cornishman* and the *Cornish Telegraph*. The two letters in question were as under:—

#### "SUNDAY FISHING.

"SIR, - Everyone professes to agree to avoid Sunday labour. Could not arrangements be made that the labour of men on shore might be avoided? On Sunday mornings around Newlyn the *amount of labour* employed in packing and cartage of fish for

the markets is great. There is a continuous line of carts and vehicles in use from Newlyn to the railway station. Give us rest on land, and so bring your fish on shore to be despatched on Saturday afternoon. Then one can believe you mean Sunday observance.

C. Williams."

—*Western Morning News*; April 8, 1897.

#### "NEWLYN FISHERMEN.

"To the Editor of the 'Cornishman.'

"Referring to a letter signed C. Williams, in the *Western Morning News* of the 8th. inst., it should be borne in mind that it is one thing to go out all nights in the week on one of the severest occupations, and a different thing to spend a portion of the day of rest in less exacting labour at home and in the day time. The day of rest, which took so prominent a place in the legislation of Moses, was evidently intended for man's benefit, and it will be remembered that a subsequent lawgiver stated that 'the day of rest was made for man, and not man for the day of rest.' It is encouraging to find that the Newlyn fishermen and their friends are having a good season. Edwin Tregelles.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 10, Fourthmonth, 1897."

—*Cornishman*; April 15, 1897.

and *Cornish Telegraph*; do.

After finding it necessary to write such a letter as this, Tregelles was somewhat surprised, when at Newlyn over a Firstday, to find no signs of such labour as C. Williams implies. The Newlyn men deny its existence.

Contemporary with the short visit of the East Country fishing fleet to Falmouth, the same people who had been so busy against the opening of the Free Library on Firstdays, but who seemed quite indifferent about the fishermen's day of rest, were carrying on an agitation against beer as an influence in town politics, particularly directed against the Ex-Mayor who had recently applied for a seven days license. In the course of a speech, reported in the *Western Daily Mercury*, 22, Third, 1897, H. O. Mackay stated that at the last municipal election at half-past ten at night he stood outside a crowd of two or three hundred persons, who were singing:—

"Beer, beer, glorious beer,  
"Down with a pail of it,  
"Up with the sale of it,  
"Beer, beer, glorious beer."

This, together with several recently published press reports of speeches at so-called Temperance meetings advocating the exclusion of all who were not total abstainers and all engaged in the trade from membership of what are called "Christian

bodies," led to the appearance of the following letter in the next day's issue of the same paper:—

"TEMPERANCE.

"To the Editor of the 'Western Daily Mercury.'

"Allow me, as a friend of temperance in the dictionary meaning— of that word, and not in its modern distorted signification, to call the attention of thy readers to the speech of H. O. Mackay at Falmouth, reported in today's papers, where he expresses such horror at the singing of a song in the praise of beer by those who do not approve of his efforts to abolish the use of that historic article of British consumption. Supposing that instead of beer it were beef that was the subject of attack, and that alliances and unions were formed to totally prohibit the consumption of beef, while religious people publicly expressed their determination to excommunicate all beef eaters from the church militant, possibly some of our teetotal advocates might be found, if not composing, at least joining in the chorus of such a song as this:—

Beef, British beef! Beyond belief!

We scarce can sing thee for our grief.

But woe betide the men of pride

Who dare deride our British beef.

"Is it not just possible also that such an agitation against beef might encourage amongst its defenders an intemperate use of that article? Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 22, Third, 1897."

—*Western Daily Mercury*; March 23, 1897.

Pickard and Tregelles both from time to time spent part of an evening at one or the other of the Flushing public houses, finding this a good way of getting to know the people, in their public parlour. Many would-be reformers do not sufficiently realise what a valuable institution the public house is, and how great is its sphere of influence in the nation.

For some months previous to this, letters, mostly anonymous, had appeared in the papers, decrying the sanitary condition of Flushing. They were mainly concerned with the slipshod method of emptying the ashpits then in vogue; but it soon became evident that Flushing was being made a target for a similar attack to what other places had previously undergone, a deliberate attempt on the part of hidden wire-pullers to turn Flushing into a seaside suburb of London, and subject it to London methods regardless of the wishes or rights of its inhabitants. This was rendered the more manifest by the recent demolition of a number of houses, necessitating the crowding of the ejected tenants into those that remained; and the final touch was given to the scare when a

death occurred from what the medical officer described as a case of typhoid fever; whereupon the newspapers were made to announce typhoid fever in Flushing, while several of the neighbouring gentry sent a letter to the Local Government Board complaining of the "insanitary" condition of the place and most unjustifiably using the term "outbreak of typhoid fever." In the meantime, however, a reform had been instituted in the emptying of the ashpits, and when the letter was sent down to the District Council by the Local Government Board, it met with a warm reception from many of the members of that body, and the medical officer stated that the case of typhoid fever was not due to insanitary conditions. Pickard and Tregelles, who had been carefully watching the various signs of the progress of this plot, who knew many of the complaints to be exaggerated, but who were anxious not to impede any genuine reform that might be found practicable and advisable, now recognised that the time had come for sending a letter to the press which would let some daylight into the schemes in operation, not only as regards Flushing, but as regards the county of Cornwall, besides many other parts whose climate and scenery make them attractive as health and holiday resorts. Another thing that made the writing of this letter urgent was the arrival of reports from all parts of the county of the pulling down of houses without any provision being made to accomodate the ejected inmates; while as general a movement for the building of sumptuously furnished hotels pointed to the transmutation of Cornwall from the home of a sturdy, high-spirited race of people fitted to play a leading part in the destinies of a great nation, into a recreation ground for London, ruled by millionaires, dressed up to suit the taste of the vulgar successful in the scramble for gold, and where the Cornish people would only be allowed to exist, if at all, on sufferance, and as slaves to their inferiors. It would be a sad thing for this country if the same sort of men were allowed to have their way in Cornwall, as so many Cornish miners recently returned from South Africa rather than fight for against the Boers. Already some of the most beautiful and historical spots on the coast have been captured for the erection of palatial hotels. Tintagell Castle is in danger of being thus stolen from the nation; the Newquay people have recently had to take the law into their own hands in order to prevent further enclosures of common land on their Headland; while at Bude and other places similar short-sighted grabbing operations are being set on foot. Not only are the working people of Cornwall to be treated as so much dirt in order to make way for moneyed visitors, but the natural attractions of the county are to be monopolised and disfigured till only the vulgar wealthy will care to come, and they of course must needs bring London and its ways with them. Happily there

is another class of visitor comes to Cornwall, men and women of culture, refinement, and sympathy; and it is to be hoped such will make common cause with the Cornish people in preserving the county's character. The letter sent to the *Western Daily Mercury* was as under:—

“SANITARY STATE OF FLUSHING.

“To the Editor of the ‘Western Daily Mercury.’

“Some weeks ago, when the medical officer reported to the District Council a case of alleged typhoid fever in this place, and letters appeared in the Press alleging that it was due to insanitary conditions with regard to the emptying of ashpits, silence seemed to be the best treatment to accord to statements which were known to the inhabitants to be grossly exaggerated, and, it seems, rightly judged to be made with ulterior motives.

“Now, however, that publicity has been given in thy columns to a statement made by the medical officer to the effect that the alleged case of typhoid fever was not due to insanitary conditions in Flushing, and as a reform has been already put into operation as to the emptying of the pits, a word or two from hitherto silent onlookers who have lived in Flushing for eighteen months without seeing any reason why Flushing should be singled out for special pillory in sanitary matters, may not be out of place.

“First, as regards the drainage scheme, which is rumoured to be the object of this attempt to discredit Flushing, it must be well known to those who live, or have lived in ‘drained’ places, that drains and their accompaniments are far from being an effectual assurance against disease. It must also be well known that the sort of drainage advocated pollutes our rivers. The people of Flushing may be found after all to have fact on their side in this matter, when it is stated that the contents of the cesspits are of more service to the crops than they can ever be to the fish. Possibly, all the towns being drained in modern fashion, the sanitary engineers find themselves running short of work; but this is no excuse for trying to damage the reputation of Flushing.

“It may be thought by some that Flushing is only a small place and cannot defend itself; we would, however, remind such that small places have in the past shown themselves not only capable of defending themselves, but even capable of surpassing in intelligence and spirit those with a larger population.

“We are well aware that it is the fashion to suppose that London can and ought to dominate for its own interests the whole of the British Isles, if not the world. We are also well aware that Cornwall is peculiarly sought after just now as a place of comparative purity, where diseased and jaded Londoners (*or those of them who are wealthier in money than they are in*



health) may come for amusement and find everything to their liking. It is, however, too much forgotten that Cornwall belongs in the first place to the Cornish, and in the same manner Flushing belongs in the first place to the inhabitants of Flushing.

"To write a letter to the Local Government Board about an 'outbreak' of typhoid fever asking for more inspection, while houses are being demolished in the place on the plea of not being fit for habitation, the people ejected, and no fresh houses built for their accomodation, is, to say the least of it, a proceeding one would have expected the four signatories not to have undertaken without better ground for their allegations.

"It is all very well to advocate at Parish Council meetings and elsewhere the building of houses for the people; but everybody knows the pulling down to be, compared with the building, like sledging down a hill compared with dragging the sledge up again.

"Besides, Flushing belongs to one 'landlord,' an absentee to be sure, but still called a 'landlord,' and the four writers of the letter to the Local Government Board would have done better to bring pressure to bear on this 'landlord' to rectify anything in Flushing that may be detrimental to its inhabitants, than they have done by throwing mud about in this loose and reckless manner. Houses are required in Flushing, as they are in other places, for the people to live in. Until such are built, let those that still remain be left standing.

"And as for offering a welcome to Londoners and others to share our salubrious climate, that is all very well, provided they don't turn us out of doors in their eagerness to monopolise it all to themselves. We would mildly suggest, as we think the time has now come to do so, that London is not the only place in the world; and, also, that to turn our cesspits into our rivers is not conducive to national health; nor are 'drains' a sure preventative of typhoid fever, even when they assume the proportion of rivers.

Edward Pickard.

Edwin Tregelles.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 5, Fourth, 1897."

---*Western Daily Mercury*; April 6, 1897.

The above letter was reprinted in the *Cornish Echo*, April 9, where the "Hat Crusaders" are said to have "entered the ring against the 'Sanitary Crusaders.'" It awakened a considerable interest in the subject, and met with warm approval from many of the inhabitants of Flushing as well as other parts of the county.

Several months later, just after the "Jubilee" celebrations, in which at Flushing Pickard and Tregelles had both taken an active part, the question of providing suitable houses for the people to live in was raised at the District Council meeting. The

manner, however, in which the discussion was allowed to drift into a mere matter of asking the inspector to report dwellings that were insanitary, apparently with the object of pulling them down, caused Pickard to send the following letter to the *Falmouth Packet*, referring to a well expressed article that paper had printed on the subject of the houses that required building:—

“A CRYING URGENCY.

“*To the Editor of the Falmouth Packet.*

“Many of thy readers will welcome the article which appears in to-day's *Packet* under the above heading. It is indeed a crying urgency; and it is a thing to rejoice over, that Parish Councils, and now the East Kerrier District Council, have had the matter brought before their notice. This subject was also very appropriately introduced at the District Council as a sequel to the recent national rejoicings. Loyalty cannot continue as a one-sided feeling. Sovereignty can only be the uniting point of a nation when the units of that nation feel themselves a living part of it.

“There is, however, a very important point in connection with this matter, which it is necessary to insist upon, lest it should be ignored and the agitation end in disappointment and disaster. Examining a parish council guide the other day, I observed a section entitled, ‘Housing of the working classes.’ On reading it carefully through, however, it turned out to be all about *unhousing* them and not a word about *housing*. It is to be hoped that the East Kerrier District Council will not be allowed to drift into the same delusion, and, under cover of housing people better, proceed to unhouse them altogether. It is all very well to declaim against ‘pigsties;’ but where are the people to go to? They cannot be expected to pay double their present rent. Nor is it wise to drive them out of village ‘pigsties’ into town ‘rookeries.’

“Now is the chance for people with money, to come forward and supply decent houses at a rental which the people in question, that is, those who are complained of for living in the ‘pigsties’ and ‘overcrowding,’ can afford to pay. Then, when more suitable habitations are provided for them, but not till then, can they be decently or safely required to vacate their present abodes.

“Flushing; 10, Seventh, 1897. Edward Pickard.”

—*Falmouth Packet*; July 17, 1897.

Some idea of the way in which the Hat Crusaders viewed the “Diamond Jubilee” celebrations, may be gathered from the fact that both Pickard and Tregelles were invited by the committee to walk with them at the head of the Flushing procession just behind the band. They joined in the out-of-doors tea in which

all classes united, watched the sports in the same field, and were present at the lighting of the beacon fire on Trefusis Point. They also attended the performance in the Parish-house, where all denominations were for once united, standing at the back, as the place was crowded, and wearing their hats all the time. On the quay, when "God save the Queen" was sung, they did not remove their hats, nor did the band; yet neither were therefore supposed to be disloyal. Both Pickard and Tregelles consider it a mistake on the part of would-be reformers to complain of Queen Victoria for being so much surrounded and swayed by the dominant powers of the age, money and military display. How can it be otherwise when these would-be reformers dare not even wear their hats in her presence, or in the presence of those powers to which they are theoretically opposed, or otherwise prove to her that they acknowledge and obey a higher and a greater power than these?

One evening in the Spring a public lecture was announced to be delivered at Falmouth by Thomas Hodgkin on "Sacerdotalism." Both Tregelles and Pickard attended it. The pith of the lecture was, that Christianity recognised no priestly office, and that therefore the modern developments of sacerdotalism could not claim to be developments of Christianity. The lecturer stated that it was "only good manners" which prevented him from expressing dissent when listening to some of the doctrines taught by ritualistic clergy of the Church of England. He, however, wound up with a somewhat florid peroration, extolling the self-sacrificing lives of Romish and Anglican priests. The lecture was eulogised by several Dissenters and Low Church people present, and seemed to meet with the approval of the audience. Neither Pickard nor Tregelles offered any remark or question, it not seeming advisable to do so. They could not, however, help comparing the whole thing to a dramatic pretence of overthrowing the great pyramid by tapping it with a geological hammer; the audience being already, as is usually the case at such gatherings, of the same or much the same way of thinking as the lecturer himself, while those against whom the lecturer was supposed to be directing his remarks were of course far enough away. Two questions might, if it had been thought advisable, have been put to the lecturer, and may be put to him and his friends here:— 1. How has this immense growth of sacerdotalism been so imposed upon Christianity, as to have almost succeeded in usurping the name? 2. How can it, at the present day, be effectually combated?

Near about the same time the following two letters appeared in two consecutive numbers of the *Friend*:—

## "FOOTBALL AND CRICKET ON 'GOOD FRIDAY.'

*"To the Editor of the Friend.*

"DEAR FRIEND,—May I be allowed to mention a subject on which I have had some correspondence privately with some valued members of our Society?

"It is the practice—rather recently introduced, I believe—of choosing the day called Good Friday for football or cricket matches in connection with our public schools. My friends think, and I agree with them, that this is rather an offensive way of expressing our protest against 'holy days.' Is it not enough that we do not ourselves hold any religious service on the day appropriated to the commemoration of the death of Christ? That silent negative protest would seem to be enough, without, so to speak, flinging our protest in the face of our fellow-Christians by choosing the day which is to them hallowed by the most sacred and pathetic associations, for the fun and merriment—delightful in themselves—of a good schoolboys' holiday.

"It is not, I think, on either hand a question of right or wrong, but rather one of good or bad taste, and on this latter ground solely I (and I believe many other Friends) would be glad to see some other day than 'Good Friday' chosen for the purpose which I have mentioned.—I am, thine truly,

THOMAS HODGKIN."

—*The Friend*; 19th. March, 1897.

## "THE OBSERVANCE OF DAYS.

*"To the Editor of the Friend.*

"DEAR FRIEND,—It is to be hoped that Dr. Hodgkin's kindly words in this week's FRIEND about amusements on 'Good Friday' will receive the attention that they deserve.

"I feel that a caution is also much needed by Friends, both at home and when travelling abroad, with respect to First-days, and wish that there was more attention given to the Advice, 'Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week which are not occupied by our meetings for worship.'—Thine truly,

AN OBSERVER.

"20th 3mo., 1897."

—*The Friend*; 26th. March, 1897.

It was some weeks before these letters came under Pickard's notice; but when he saw them, he considered they should not go unchallenged. Both he and Tregelles had felt the depressing effects of the season called "Lent" more severely than any previous year, toothache and neuralgia being amongst its more palpable evidences; and against the day called "Good Friday" he has a jotting in his rough note book, "The Devil is fighting us like the very Devil." It was therefore with some knowledge of what *he was writing of*, that he penned the following letter to the Editor

Of the *Friend*. The letter was returned without comment, and a similar communication to the Editor of the *British Friend*, who had published Thomas Hodgkin's letter, but not "An Observer's," was also rejected.

#### "THE OBSERVANCE OF DAYS.

"To the Editor of the 'Friend.'

"Thy correspondents seem ready enough to ventilate their views on the Recording of Ministers, although they do not yet seem to have made the discovery that this practice was instituted as a protection against the system of pastors, now coming into vogue in America, and also to some extent in this country. There is, however, another matter which has been raised in thy columns, that seems to have either escaped their notice or to have been considered by them of no importance; and as no one else has ventured to call in question the advice of Thomas Hodgkin and his supporter 'An Observer,' perhaps thou wilt in fairness allow me to express the other side. [A rather good letter had been inserted, calling in question this advice, and pointing out that if there was a fault it was in giving the boys a holiday on the day named, not in their playing games. This letter was signed W. J. B., Glasgow, but Pickard had not then seen it.]

"It is a great mistake to suppose that this is a matter of no importance, or that it is merely one of politeness and consideration for the feelings of others. No; it is an attempt to make the Society of Friends or the managers of its schools acknowledge the religious observance of the day called 'Good Friday,' in order to oblige the sacerdotal hierarchies of the world. Perhaps we may next year expect some 'kindly words' as to the propriety of 'amusements' during 'Lent,' which I hope 'will receive the attention they deserve.' That portion of the year called 'Lent,' and culminating in the old nature festival which still preserves its old name of 'Easter,' is naturally a low period, coming at the end of winter, and before the revival of Spring. It is therefore not difficult for the priests to add to the depression of nerve and spirit at this season, a thing they have been and are very ready with devices to accomplish. It is hard for a man or woman to resist this double incubus, and equally hard to resist the reaction that inevitably follows. Those who do not yield mentally, feel the effects all the more physically, until the climax of this artificially accentuated season of melancholy arrives with its miserable alleviation of "*Hot Cross Buns!*" It will be found that Byron and Beaconsfield are not the only men of genius and spirit who, unconquered in mind, have succumbed in body under these influences; and surely it is not a Christian proceeding to crucify Christ afresh every year at the time of the Jewish Passover.



"It is to be hoped that Thomas Hodgkin's letter will receive the attention it deserves, that is, rejection. By all means let cricket and football be played on this dullest of days, that peradventure it may in the course of years grow less dull, and become as good as the others.

Edward Pickard.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 25, Fourth, 1897."

Shortly after the publication of "The Hat Crusade," Vol. II, Tregelles recommenced travelling in the oil business for his old firm in London, this time in the West of England. Being at Bristol on a Firstday in Fifthmonth, he attended the morning meeting in the city, and the evening meeting at Redland, wearing his hat. At the latter place he spoke as follows:—"Someone has said, 'We live by admiration; hope; and love.'" After cycling North Somerset and Wilts, he went to Weston-super-Mare for the next Firstday (23, Fifth, 1897). At the Friends' Meeting-house in the morning, the men's side of the ministers' gallery was vacant, its usual occupants being at Yearly Meeting. Tregelles therefore took his seat at the head of the meeting. Presently, taking a large Bible which was placed on the table before him, and standing it on end, he rose and said:—"In this book we read of one who found some loafers in the streets—in the corners of the streets. There are several outside. They were invited to come in. There should be a man at the head of the meeting, to insure order. If any Friend will come up here, I shall be glad to sit down below." As no one responded to this invitation, Tregelles remained where he was to the end of the meeting, wearing his hat. Some advice having been given, "not to carry unnecessary burdens," but recommending "rest," Tregelles, after a short pause, took up the thread of this discourse, as follows:—"The advice tendered us just now is important. We have seen that it is possible to have ennui and languor, even when sitting in a comfortable arm-chair or in your various other arrangements of that kind. All here will have observed people very weary at the end of an afternoon spent in that way. To rest properly, we must work well. One who worked harder than any one has yet, said, 'Take my yoke upon you'—that is, 'Work. Then,' says he, 'you will rest.'" In the afternoon of the same day, Tregelles visited the Bible Class on the meetinghouse premises.

On the evening of the next day, he went up to London, and attended several sittings of the Yearly Meeting. On Thirdday morning (25th), after several testimonies to departed members had been read, giving some account of their career, there was some expression as to this being a "form." Tregelles said: "All good things tend to take form. Form is a good thing. If these testimonies are, as is sometimes said, a form, it is in this case a living

form." He went on to suggest that some of the best testimonies should be abridged for general circulation. A minute of the Meeting for Sufferings was read, with regard to the address of protest against the Voluntary Schools Bill (then just passed), the main objection raised to it being the objection to upholding an Established Church. Several having briefly spoken in this strain, Thomas Hodgkin, after calling the attention of the Yearly Meeting to the fact that the Bill in question had already become law, wished it to be understood that the whole of the Society of Friends did not unite in this protest. Hereupon Tregelles also expressed himself as out of sympathy with the protest, stating that "the government of the country includes the Church of England, while the Queen is head of the Church loyal subjects ought to uphold her, and we as Quakers profess to be loyal subjects." This was followed by a defence of religious education on the part of several speakers, which caused Tregelles to explain that the point with him was "not religious education, but national education." A document was then introduced, emanating from the "Students' Volunteer Missionary Union," who expressed therein their intention to accomplish "the evangelisation of Mahomedan and Heathen countries in this century." This document, which evinced some earnestness, seemed to meet with considerable approval, and it was proposed that it should be printed and sent down to the Quarterly Meetings along with the report of the Yearly Meeting's proceedings. Tregelles drew attention to an extraordinary expression near the beginning (for a Friends' Yearly Meeting to pass unchallenged), "When Christ left the earth." He then went on to say: "There is another statement, that 'a thousand Missionary Volunteers are waiting for orders.' Quakers do not wait until they have an Association of a thousand members. Quakers volunteer *one by one*." This encouraged a number of those present who had hitherto been silent, to support the protest against this document being sent down to the Quarterly Meetings with the endorsement of the Yearly Meeting.

In the afternoon of the same day, the first business was the consideration of the report of the Armenian Relief Committee. At the close, referring to what had been said by previous speakers, Tregelles spoke as follows:—"Much has been said about sympathy, and 'our feelings going out to' the Armenians. It is well to keep our intellect above our feelings. One of the previous speakers who has been in Armenia, has told us that this is 'a religious and not a political question.' Things cannot be separated in this way. It *is* a political question. Another speaker said that these people had been massacred because they were Christians. Yet we have also been told in this meeting, that the Turkish Government were quite willing to facilitate the transit of relief

money, and sent a military escort with it. [John Bellows, a member of the Armenian Relief Committee who had just returned from the spot, stated in this connection: "So secure was the method of forwarding, the Turkish Government taking all risks, except that of the banditti, which was insured against—that out of the £180,000 forwarded not a sovereign had been lost."] Again, we have been informed that it was the tax-gatherer who was doing the mischief. Who is responsible for the tax-gatherer? I must remind you that Europeans, that Englishmen, members of the Society of Friends, and perhaps even some of those present, are responsible for the need of extorting these taxes from the people. Is not tax-gathering political? Is this also religious? It has been stated that a sixth of the population of Constantinople were Armenians. It is well known that there was a considerable revolutionary ferment amongst them. This is also political. It is the fashion with some members of the Society of Friends to profess to despise the Concert of Europe, and to regard it as a small matter for England to withdraw from it. It is our duty to see that England stays in the Concert of Europe. It is for us to help the country to use its political influence rightly in this matter."

The following morning (26th) Tregelles sat through the "meeting for worship" in the large meeting-house, wearing his hat the whole time, and with great difficulty keeping himself awake to the end. In the evening he attended a "Young Men's Meeting," to which he had been invited. The subject of the address was all about Christ being a Rock. Near the conclusion, Tregelles had risen to speak, when orders were given for "silent prayer." The silence was, however, broken by Tregelles, on his feet, saying: "God. We have heard much about rocks. Let *us* be rocks."

After one of the meetings, a younger member came up to him and said: "I suppose you are one of the old-fashioned Friends." Tregelles replied: "No; thou art misinformed. I am one of the new-fashioned Friends." Several of the old-fashioned members of the Society, who have given no encouragement to the Hat Crusade, nor ventured to wear their hats in the national places of assembly, rigidly kept them on their heads during the Yearly Meeting sittings. They seemed somewhat surprised, not to say grieved, when they observed Tregelles sometimes wearing his hat, and sometimes not.

Weston-super-Mare being a convenient centre for resting over the Firstday when travelling in Somerset and South Wales, Tregelles spent two more Firstdays there. On the first of these in the morning meeting he spoke as follows:—"A well-known military word—Attention! best expresses the proper state, the *best state of our minds* this morning." Attending the monthly

meeting at Neath in South Wales, there was a discussion as to the disposal of some property and as to the preservation of some old deeds. Several speakers seeming to consider the matter as of small importance, Tregelles asked to be allowed to make a remark as a member of Darlington Monthly Meeting, and then expressed a wish that the deeds might be carefully looked after and looked into, and advised the Monthly Meeting to retain possession of their property.

On Firstday morning, the 13th. of Sixth, 1897, Pickard attended Falmouth meeting, and towards the close rose and said :—"I was much impressed the other day by a forcible statement of an old truth in a new form—a single sentence at the foot of a page in a Mahomedan paper : 'There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip, but none between cause and effect.'"

On Firstday, the 27th. of Sixth, Tregelles attended Falmouth meeting, and spoke as follows :—"When coming here this morning, there was a body of soldiers marching along in the street, keeping pretty good step. All of a sudden, three of them dropped off from behind, going to some chapel I suppose. I thought to myself, that would never do if they were fighting. It may be all very well on parade. Quakers are soldiers. If they are not soldiers, they are not Quakers. This morning I have felt how very important it is to be united, not to drop off like these men. You can only have union when fighting. Quakers are always fighting. It might be all right to drop out of line if we were only on parade. But true Quakers never go on parade. Further, all Christians are soldiers. They fight the same enemy. They must be united. It is important that, so far as we can, we should unite with all other Christians. I am reminded that some of them are close at hand [singing in a neighbouring building]. It is our place to encourage all the other soldiers. It is generally acknowledged by the world that Quakers are in the front. We are to back up good everywhere, in this fight against sin. It would not do for a soldier to say, 'I'm not going to fight along with you. You are not in our regiment.' There may be a number of regiments. They unite in the battle. It was almost amusing to notice where they put these three fellows who broke off from the rest. Behind. It would not do to place them in front ; it would spoil the march. They did not march off ; but strolled off. If *we* were going to drop off, they would rightly put *us* at the back. But our place is at the front—fighting."

The following letter appeared in the *Crescent*, a weekly Moslem paper published at Liverpool and edited by the Sheikh ul Islam of the British Isles, W. H. Abdullah Quilliam :—

## "Kind Letter from a Member of the Society of Friends.

"TO ABDULLAH QUILLIAM.

"It is only fair to thee to let thee know how much I appreciate one of many services thou has rendered me, and I doubt not many others, in clearing up errors under which they have been labouring with regard to the teachings of that great prophet of God, Mahomet. I have always been given to understand, and it has been a considerable difficulty in my mind, that Mahomet distinctly taught that to die in battle for Islam, whether a man were good or bad, would procure him immediate entrance into paradise. Recently, owing to more study of the subject and more thought upon it, I have come to see that it would not apply to a bad man, because a bad man could not be sincerely fighting for Islam, no matter what his professions. Now, however, thou clears up the difficulty admirably by explaining that the Arabic is, "Those who are slain *in the way of God* are still living." Bravo! No humbug. Not a matter of religious formulæ and professions, but a living and dying *in the way of God*. This is common sense, as, indeed, the teachings of a true prophet are, when they are intelligently understood in the way in which they were meant—common sense, that is, sense common to all men who will take the trouble to exercise it, not common to bigots, idiots or hypocrites.

EDWARD PICKARD.

"Flushing, near Falmouth; 11, Seventh, 1897."

—*The Crescent*: July 21, 1897.

On Firstday, Eighthmonth 15th, 1897, Tregelles attended Falmouth meeting and expressed himself as under:—"The kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by storm." 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate,' are words of Jesus which again remind of this fact. And Paul says, 'I *press* toward the mark of our high calling. Bunyan, in his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' shows us the pilgrim turning off the road into a bypath, and, after going on nicely for a time, suddenly landing in Doubting Castle, where after a while they meet Giant Despair. We should soon get into despair too, if we tried to find an easy path. This word, '*strive* to enter the gate,' is often misunderstood. People get the idea that it is like squeezing through a crowd at the theatre—you pass through, and get in; you take your seat, and it is all right. Not so. It is those who *continue* in well-doing, who will reach their goal. Other kingdoms have been won by violence, and taken by storm. But generally one man alone in a country or a nation could be king. It is different in this—the *kingdom of heaven*. It's one and all."



Since the publication of the previous volumes of "The Hat Crusade," there has been but little attempt at criticism, and therefore there is not much in the way of answers to objections to publish here. Several points, however, in letters received, and the answers given to them at the time, deserve record.

William Allen of Dorking expressing himself as having "little sympathy with those who seek to *revive the exploded* hat honour of the 16th. century," Pickard replied: "What thou means by 'the exploded hat honour of the 16th. century,' is difficult to tell. Whether thou means that the 'hat honour' the first Quakers refused to give in the 17th. century is now exploded or non-existent, or whether thou means that the principle upon which their refusal was grounded is exploded; in either case thy use of the term 'exploded' is not justified by proof or by an examination of facts. 'Hat-honour,' as it is very incorrectly termed—there being no honour in it, but the reverse,—is still existent, and by no means exploded; while the principle upon which the first Quakers based their refusal to give what is called 'hat-honour,' can not be exploded until manhood and honour itself are extinct."

Alfred Pumphrey of Birmingham wrote saying: "I am not interested in the Hat question. There are the real evils of Pauperism and the separation of the good gifts of Providence from the common people to be met and overcome by Christian people. When these are done, then there may be time for minor questions of dress and address." This was accompanied by a circular recommending the study of H. V. Mills's "Poverty and the State." Pickard's reply was as follows: "Thanks for a sight of enclosure in thine of —. But I am sorry to see from the brief statement of which thy letter is composed, that thou art in the same quagmire with the Socialists, in which I was myself at one time floundering, namely the notion that comfortable social conditions can be built upon rotten and false foundations."

Alfred Balkwill of Plymouth, who, unlike the two previously mentioned, had read one volume of the book, and therefore was in a position to know something of what he was writing about, after a favourable reference to Samuel Fox's "War Done and Work Undone," to which he added the question, "When will nations learn war no more?" expressed himself as follows:—"I wish I could get up an enthusiasm for the Hat Crusade, but alas I do not see it!—I cannot think for the moment of any thing we offer God that we do not offer our fellow man except the supreme peace in our hearts—that which is indicated by the first commandment, but which the words fail. Worship—in its literal sense,—service, obedience, reverence, love, devotion—we give to our fellows, and from the way we render them to man we learn

how they should be given to God. Whether kneeling, bowing, taking off the hat, have any special claim to be considered in themselves acts of worship due only to the Supreme is extremely hypothetical it appears to me. If a child kneels to beg pardon of its parent, if a subject kneels to his sovereign, if a gentleman gives a nod to an acquaintance, if a man stand in the presence of a lady unless she sits, if we give honour where honour is due and custom where custom, if we seek to be courteous as Paul enjoins, if we are free in the freedom wherewith the truth makes us free, then I think it most problematical whether taking off the hat where it is wished is a subject about which it is well to raise an agitation at the present time. I do not wish to judge you, thou knowest—I only say how it appears to me and why I have felt easy to go into a Church and take off my hat contrary to the tendency of my early education. If even it should appear to you that circumstances or educational bias or any other influence have deflected your whole hearted sincere desire to do the Lord's will—as far as it was manifested—into a misdirected channel, do not be discouraged in any way. I believe the Divine law is like the human in one respect, and that is that motive is the thing judged. It is not our acts but our motives that we are judged by. And so I send you brotherly greetings, and am with you in sympathy and fellowship in motive though I cannot follow you in its outward expression." To this, Pickard replied in brief:—"Thou asks, 'When will nations learn war no more?' I answer, 'When men have the courage to "judge among the nations" just judgment.' A word or two on thy observations re the Hat Crusade. 'The supreme peace in our hearts,' which comes from a sense of doing God's will, is to my mind a quite sufficient offering to God beyond what we offer to our fellow men; for it represents our life, which no bowing or scraping or hat-doffing can do. Thou speaks of the truth making us free. I do not see how the truth can make a man free to doff his hat to a fiction. The God whom I honour and obey is not honoured or gratified by my degradation, however much worldly-minded 'men' and 'ladies' may consider themselves honoured by it. I hold it to be wiser and truer to regulate my behaviour towards the latter by my understanding of God's will, than it would be to 'learn how to' honour God by going through the performances in his 'honour' which these worldly-minded 'men' and 'ladies' affect to consider conducive to theirs. Thou will not find the most Godlike men and women eager for slavish subservience. George Fox was not uncourteous, but infinitely more courteous than the cringing crowd of flatterers who so hated his superiority to their mean devices."

*Frank Brown* of Leeds, while showing and expressing his

interest in Pickard's ideas and aims, expressed himself as "not interested in the 'hat' question or very slightly as it seems to me, relatively, of very trifling importance." Finding that the above statement was not, as it might readily appear to be, of trifling importance, either to the writer, or to those who, like himself, had seen reason to hold the writer in esteem, Pickard thus handled it in reply:—"At first when thy last letter reached me, I was inclined to take no notice of its concluding sentence: 'I am not interested in the "hat" question or very slightly as it seems to me, relatively, of very trifling importance.' But on thinking it over, it seems best to point out briefly the real meaning of this sentence, which perhaps thou may not be fully conscious of. Thou expresses interest in my ideas and aims and work, which are those of what has been called the 'Hat Crusade,' and then disclaims interest 'in the "hat" question.' Does not this strike thee as much like a man expressing interest in the ideas, aims and work of a reforming army, say that of Cromwell or Napoleon, and then disclaiming interest in the army itself, its weapons, tactics, means of defence, and conflicts with the enemy? But how on earth are you going to carry out your ideas, aims or work to a successful issue, unless you use some means? Or are thou content with mere dreams and theories like so many more, after all? and in no way concerned with the stern facts of war? For a Quaker *must* be a soldier; else he is no Quaker. And he has no manner of right to escape the ordinary soldier's duty, unless he undertakes his own more onerous and arduous soldieryship."

His father having written in one of his letters, of "some sensible and practical *via media* between what is called 'hat-honour' and hat-disrespect," Pickard thus expressed himself on the point:—"With regard to 'hat-honour' so called, and hat-disrespect, is not the latter to be seen in the manner and spirit evinced by the wearer, his wearing his hat out of bravado or 'I'm as good as you' self-assertiveness, rather than being willing to appear a fool if need be for conscience' sake? A Quaker, when he cannot remove his hat for conscience' sake, gives greater, not less honour than if he removed it under pressure or persuasion. This is the antipodes from wearing one's hat out of disrespect, and a discerning man of the world knows it—see the case of John Roberts, and the disrespectful Baptist preacher, and the different treatment they received from the Bishop." Upon this Pickard's father commented as follows: "Thy previous note was also duly received, dealing in part with the question of a practical *via media* between hat *honour* and *disrespect*: and I felt a general concurrence of mind therewith. Only the times of John Roberts take us *a long way back* for a case, in illustration of the point in hand; and that scarcely answers to present day conditions." In response to the above, Pickard offered

the following additional remarks, which closed the discussion on the point: "I mentioned John Roberts, because that was a case known and honoured both by thee and by myself. I am not sure that present day cases would be honoured equally, even if equally known. Time is in the very nature of things essential to the maturing of appreciation of illustrations of such points as the one thou raised. In the present the only practical way to illustrate them is in one's own actions, and for them to be appreciated the present conditions must also be understood. But this is a long story, and takes time in the telling."

His sister, Eliza Pickard, being at the time closely connected in work and sympathy with some of Tolstoy's friends in London, and having sent him some literature inculcating "non-resistance to evil" and "leaving evil alone," he took occasion to express his objection to "this continual harping upon negatives. To *overcome evil with good* is not *non-resistance to evil*; but is the most powerful form of resistance to evil ever invented." His sister having responded to the effect that the Hat Crusade appeared to many, "looked at from the outside, almost entirely destructive and critical," Pickard wrote:—"I suppose it is natural as things are; but it seems very curious to me now to think of refusing to remove one's hat at the bidding of the priests, as a '*negative*' thing; considering that hats are ordered *off* to induce a *negative* state of mind. To wear one's hat therefore under these conditions represents all manner of *positive* things, and what has been called the Hat Crusade becomes the most *positive* thing going."

For the information of such as have not thought upon the subject, it is necessary at this point to go into it in some detail, in order to show them that the question of hat-wearing is no trifle. It appears that in all ages, some kind of indignity has been used by designing people towards the head, the seat of reason, will-power, and self-respect, in order to bring mankind into subjection, especially such as were capable of frustrating their schemes; and that since the setting up of Popery, this indignity has taken the form of uncovering the head. It seems that when the Pope understood that the covering and uncovering of heads was a very practical method of asserting his dominion, he monopolised this to himself, and made it criminal for anyone, from the meanest subject to the greatest emperor, to wear a head-covering of any kind, except under the conditions he imposed. Meanwhile he himself, by a series of additions contemporary with the aggrandisement of his power transformed his high cap into a triple

crown, and gave to each of the cardinals, as the special representatives of his authority, a broad-brimmed hat. He himself, being mostly shut up indoors, and seldom moving away from his headquarters, did not require a brimmed head covering; but the cardinals, who were steadily usurping a position, as the Pope's representatives, above the other bishops, were given the hat after the Crusades, previous to which time only caps appear to have been worn, bishops' mitres being double caps. The Crusaders are said to have introduced hats into Modern Europe. However this came about, whether the pilgrims to Jerusalem found a broad brimmed hat answer the same purpose as a turban in protecting them from the sun, or whether dignity had something also to do with it, many of these pilgrims bringing back with them some of that self-respect in which the Arabs and particularly the Moslems excelled, it is certain that during the time of the Crusades a considerable awakening took place in Europe, which is shown by the growth of the Feudal System out of the abject superstition and anarchy of the tenth century. The Pope, being well aware of what was going on, and dreading a successful revolt against his authority, took the Crusades under his patronage, giving the Crusaders his authority to take possession for him of the tomb at Jerusalem, which he pretended was that of Christ in order the more effectually to bury Christianity. Happily the Moslems prevented this, and Christianity is not buried yet. When the Pope found that he could not take away the hats from the Crusaders, he adopted the hat as a badge of office for his cardinals, while making sure that all other hat-wearers took theirs off inside the religious and other buildings which, upon his failure to get possession of the tomb, were made to serve the same purpose. This point of removing the hat was yielded to the Pope, on the ground of its seeming to be only a trifle. Little did they reckon that by so doing they were giving up their title to a manhood greater far than anything the Pope had to offer them. The better to overawe the living, these buildings came to be made the receptacles of the dead, and of their relics. Pilgrimages were made to them with all sorts of humiliations and bare-headed processions. By these means, the influence of the priests and monks came to be so extended, that the mere sight of one of them was sufficient to make the stoutest hearts quail, and uncover for fear of the consequences if they did not.

It was quite impossible in such a state of things, for men to retain ideas of self-respecting manhood, even though the Moslems were at this time awakening thought in Europe; as it is quite impossible today, whilst people dare not remain covered in the presence of religion, to realise in practice a thousandth part of the new ideas with which Modern Thought has flooded



the world. Not daring to remain covered, it is not to be wondered at that their manhood should forsake them, making them as strangers and foreigners in their own country, or as children who are afraid of the birch.

Even Carlyle, the greatest man of his time, did not achieve real manhood. He had splendid opportunities of asserting his manhood, but unfortunately chose to remain a theorist. Look at that magnificent opportunity which he let slip between his fingers, at Westminster Abbey, on the occasion when he and Froude went to hear Farrar. Carlyle never used to go to such places, but this time Froude had persuaded him to go with him, making out that Farrar was a much more genuine man than he gave him credit for, and that he ought to go at least once to see for himself. Carlyle went. But, soon after taking his seat, he evinced marked signs of uneasiness. The atmosphere of the place, with its solemn hypocrisies, and the cheap cant that was issuing from the pulpit by the mouthful, was too much for Carlyle, and he nervously clutched at his hat, to put it on by way of protest. Froude saw the danger, and sat trembling with dismay, and exercising his utmost arts to restrain Carlyle from his purpose. The wooden Froude tells us that he did restrain Carlyle, but in what manner, whether by brute force, or by whispering in his ear, "I shall take it off if you do," he does not inform us. He adds: "What a mercy it was that Carlyle did *not* put on his hat, as, if he had, it would have set the bells ringing all over England." Would that he had. The salvation of the world would have drawn nigher to us then. In his writings, from *Sartor Resartus*, his earliest work, to his latest production, Carlyle is for ever drawing attention to the importance of there being men in the world, men of action, extinguishing lies lest they themselves be extinguished. Who is not familiar with Carlyle's description, in *Sartor Resartus*, of the contest between manhood and the "Everlasting No," where it says, "Thou art mine;" to which he replies, "I am not thine, but forever hate thee—will make war upon thee." Yet Carlyle took off his hat to it. His was theory. This book records actions. The Hat Crusader declares war against and overcomes the "Everlasting No," by refusing to uncover—"I am not thine; and thou shall not uncrown me."

Against this idea of manhood, there are the cowards in all castes and classes, who aver that the world is perpetually going round at such a rate, and might all fall to pieces in minute particles of dust at any moment, that everything is too insignificant to bother with, and that it is not worth while to risk one's skin about anything. This is the doctrine of dust, which holds a high place in the esteem of great religious professors. There are many

other doctrines put forward for preventing the growth of manhood, but they are not so outspoken. Socialists, and other believers in systems, pooh-pooh manhood, as though it were altogether beneath their notice. At the smoking-and-drinking-bar of the Democratic Club (London) some members of the "S.D.F." told Tregelles—"It is no good to be honest. We are all thieves. The only thing to do is to get as much money as you can, get very rich, and then smash the government." This nearly stunned Tregelles for the moment, who had no idea of smashing the government, or anything else. It is very noticeable how theorists all want their theories to be recognised first, and profess their willingness to think about practical matters afterwards. This is putting the cart before the horse. When a man has attained his manhood, or rather the position in the world to which that entitles him, he is then in a position to choose what he will be.

The hat question is the question whether conscience or custom shall rule the individual. Therein lies its incalculable importance. Wearing one's hat fearlessly everywhere is a test as to which is uppermost, conscience or custom. The Hat Crusade is not a crusade that people may all wear hats, but a crusade that those who want to may wear their heads.

The great work of the first Quakers, for which they were so fiercely persecuted by the hypocritical theorists and professors of their day, was to reassert the manhood of man. If this work had been carried on, in the spirit in which it was started, the world would have been spared the deluge of useless literature with which theologians, constitution-mongers, political economists, æstheticists, and abolitionists, have flooded it. The first Quakers were known as such by the mere fact of their wearing their hats where others were expected to take them off, and, as will be seen later on, they suffered much for this dearly-bought right, some of them even paying for it with their lives. The Hat-Crusader of the present day is taking up this great work at the point where present conditions demand its continuance. He is no mere copyist of the "Early Friends." He is no faddist. As he does not base his actions on Quakerism (old or new), so he does not make the soul, whatever that is, the chief object of his attention. At present, the crown of the head, and of his head in particular, is the principal object of importance—to stick to his crown in this purgatory of a world. It has been said that "Quakers get people out of purgatory, one by one, by the crown of the head; whereas Roman Catholics pretend to get them out, in the mass, by the soles of their feet." This probably alludes to the processions, and endless pilgrimages, performed bare-headed and on the soles of their feet, whereby they expect to mount into heaven.

The Quaker's crown, or hat, is a right of conscience, which

he does not receive at the hand of anybody else, or by virtue of any custom. On the contrary, he puts it on with his own hand, and even in opposition to custom if need be. Ignorant persons have imagined that there is a parallel between a Quaker's hat, and a Cardinal's hat. Note the difference. When Wolsey was made Cardinal, and his hat was sent him from Rome, some indignant Englishman said: "It would have been better to have given him a 'Tyburn tippet'; these Romish hats never brought good into England;" but history shows that Quakers' hats (no particular shape) do bring good into England—see the notes upon Penn and Mead's trial, at the commencement of this book, whereby England was at that time saved from slipping into the embrace of Rome. (This is only a single instance. Many others could be given.) From which it appears that Quakers' hats keep out Cardinals' hats. Note this further difference. A Cardinal wears his hat to prevent other people from wearing theirs; but a Quaker wears his hat to enable other people to wear theirs.

It is only fair to say that Quakers are not the only ones who, by their hat-wearing, counteract Cardinals' hats; for there are others, though in a much less degree, but still to a degree of considerable importance, whose hat-wearing tends in the same direction. Great men, great artists, poets, students of human life, wear big slouched hats in all manner of circumstances. They do it because they instinctively feel that they themselves are a sort of kings amongst their subjects, the people around them. For the same reason, they often wear long hair. Tennyson wore a tremendous slouched hat, and long hair. So did Carlyle, Walt Whitman, "Professor" Blackie, and others.

The Military Salute is often confounded by ignorant persons with "touching the hat," which is quite another matter.

Touching the hat, or cap, is done in the expectation of receiving something, and is a poor apology for taking off the hat or cap. This it is felt to be by those who do it, many of them looking ashamed whilst they are at it. Note also the following points, and contrast with those of the military salute below. 1. They touch their hats, not their heads; when their hats are off, as in the case of waiters, there is no need for these antics; the hats being already off, "Yes-sir, no-sir, please-sir," are then enough. 2. The operation is done hurriedly. 3. It is performed with one bent finger and a loose fist. 4. The head jerks forward obsequiously towards the uplifted arm. 5. At the same time, the words, "Yes-sir," "No-sir," "Please-sir," are let off like little jets of steam. 6. It is done with equal or even greater readiness to out-and-out humbugs. 7. It is based on what Carlyle has called the cash-nexus, or the mere money relationship, without

the least union of interests. 8. People touch their hats to those of whom they know nothing and care less. 9. The services of hat-touchers can be dispensed with instantly by cutting off the supplies of cash, thus snipping the only tie that binds them. 10. The hat-toucher's idea being that it doesn't pay to do ordinary work, he lays himself out to please the whims of those that have the most money. Touching the hat means—"I don't reckon much to my head, so am willing to sell myself to you, sir, if you'll pay me extra. I don't care about *you*. It's the money I'm after. For the matter of that, I'd kick you, if I dared." 11. It is clear, then, that the hat-toucher is a getter, not exactly a thief, but one who is desirous of getting money with as little intellectual effort and responsibility as possible. 12. Thus sneaking through the world, without exercising his mind, and never acting from his own initiative—the very thing which constitutes a man, the hat-toucher emasculates and degrades himself down to an empty-headed nincompoop.

Very different is the military salute. Mark the following striking points of contrast. 1. In saluting, the hand is raised and brought in contact with the head—not the hat, in contact with the man himself. 2. This is done deliberately, and the hand is held there until you receive the return salute, an act of which you are proud. 3. The salute is given with the whole hand, palm face, hand and fingers straight, every finger showing, the arm being brought up with mathematical precision at the side. 4. The man stands erect, face to face with the person he salutes. 5. The act is performed without speaking, all steam being retained. 6. It is done to men of superior abilities, courage and discipline, men who are the first to risk their lives, themselves foremost in the fight, leading the way to victory. 7. It is based on the old feudal idea, the relationship of mutual faith, each serving the other in his particular sphere. 8. It is done to known and tried individuals. 9. Such services can not be dispensed with, even when pay is in arrear; when pay is deficient, food, clothing and shelter must still be provided. 10. The salute means—"I have a head, and it is devoted, with its wisdom and knowledge, to your service. I will fight for you to the death." 11. It is clear, then, that the man who salutes is a giver, not exactly a king, but one who is anxious to distinguish himself, and show proofs of his intelligence, and fitness for responsibility. 12. Thus continually before the public, exercising his mind, his very life frequently depending on its activity, he pulls himself together, and raises himself to a hero.

As a matter of fact, the military are in duty bound not to take their hats off when under arms. This is punctually observed, in whose presence soever they are, from officers of all grades and

ranks to the Queen herself, the highest in the land. The meanest private, though he have but yesterday joined the ranks, may not raise his hat to the Queen. During the recent celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign, the soldiers, British and Colonial, including the New South Wales Lancers with their broad-brimmed hats, did not uncover before the Queen—see the illustrated papers. In the *Graphic*, July 10, 1897, is a picture of the New South Wales Lancers receiving medals from the Prince of Wales. They do not uncover, but each one individually receives his medal with his hat *on*. It is a striking evidence of the indignity of hat-doffing, that soldiers, who are the defenders of the world's law and order, are not expected to doff their hats even to its chief representatives. How much more should men, who are the defenders of God's law and order, assert and maintain their dignity. Latterly, so great is the force of custom, overruling duty and even conscience itself, that officious magistrates have been known to order soldiers and even officers to remove their hats, contrary to the Queen's regulations. A case of this kind occurred in a police-court, where an officer protested against such a course. A policeman, with a view to overawe the military, had shouted out: "All persons in court take their hats off." Upon this, the officer instructed his men to keep their head-coverings on, himself setting the example. The magistrate fell back upon "custom," his sole resource, pretending that it was a matter of "etiquette," by means of which subterfuge he got his way for that time. On another occasion, at Greenwich, a corporal being asked in court to remove his hat, and refusing on the ground that he "was not required to do so whilst on duty," the magistrate "pointed out that a soldier was not required to uncover before her Majesty, but he must do so in a Civil Court."—*South Wales Weekly Argus*: September 22, 1894. It should be observed that on the continent soldiers wear their hats in court.

The idea of being "on duty" is not a bad one. It deserves attention. The soldier is said to be on duty, when he is "under arms." The policeman is said to be on duty, when he is not "off." The Quaker is on duty all the time, being never "off duty." Ordinary people are on duty at certain hours, for which they receive payment, whether they are receiving wages from others, or in business for themselves; but they have very little notion of being on duty at any other time, or on any other occasion. On the tramcar, the bus, the train, the steamboat, or the street, in the club, the place of entertainment, the public house, the newsroom, the law-court, or the steeplehouse, these people, while some of them profess to carry their Christianity about *with them wherever they go*, are really off duty, and little more



than lookers-on. In none of these circumstances, nor in any other, is the Quaker a mere looker-on. Not he: on the contrary, he is constantly on the look out for opportunities of being of use, and of putting things to rights. The Quaker disputes with the soldier the honour of being "under arms." He is always at war with something, and, though he does not carry a bayonet with him, he carries weapons of his own, requiring actually more skill and courage in the use, and being more potent and far-reaching in their effects. His chief business on his own account is to represent law and order. In this he disputes the honour with the policeman also. Thus, the Quaker is on duty, everywhere.

The old feudal idea of duty was that each man was always ready to die for the rest. At the same time, he might seldom or never be called upon to stir from his homestead, or to put himself about. Though he had to provide a horse, and arms, yet the orders for using them came from somebody else, and he did not go out to battle on his own responsibility. There was no possible way of escape from this duty, except to get his head shaved, adopt a woman's dress, and hide himself in a religious house. No one but a man could perform feudal service. This explains the term "homage." "Doing homage" is when a man goes down on one knee, in a half standing posture, before another man, and promises to serve him faithfully. When you cannot be an out-and-out man yourself, the next best thing is to help an out-and-out man, as his man. This is the idea of homage (French, *homme*, man), that is, man-age, to act the man.

In Arabia, and other parts of the East as far as caste allows of it, men have learnt to act the man without "doing homage." A common method of salute is to bring one or both hands to the head, whilst inclining the body. This has nothing to do with touching the hat. In Asia men do not take off their hats. Mahomedans salute by kissing the hand, putting it to the head, and wishing you, "Peace." In the "Arabian Nights," people are described as pointing to their heads, as a sign of mind meeting mind. They hold themselves erect, not uncovering, but saluting. Disraeli, in *Tancred*, speaks of the Syrian salutation, "pressing a hand to his brow, his mouth, and his heart, a salutation which signifies, that in thought, speech, and feeling he was faithful to his host, and which salutation was immediately returned." To travel from the East to the further West, the natives of Hayti put their hands upon their heads as a sign of profound reverence for Columbus and his companions, upon their first arrival on the island. It would seem that the military salute is of a similar nature to the above mentioned salutations, Easterns, whether Hindoo or Moslem, making no objection to conform to the practice when in the ranks of the British army. There are, however, at

the present time, attempts being made to add to the confusion already existing between the military salute and hat-doffing, by altering the manner of the former so as to assimilate it to the hat-touching contrasted with it above. This is the more easy to accomplish, because in modern times the feudal relationship has been so largely replaced by the financial, even in the army itself; and there seems to be no clear understanding in the ranks, that the two things essentially differ. So much is this the case, that it is not uncommon to see soldiers salute their officers with an evident consciousness of humiliation, as though it were a token of servility, which was therefore only rendered under the influence of a degrading fear. Perhaps this may be also due to the fact of some of their officers neither deserving nor receiving that genuine respect, which has already been noticed as an essential to the feudal relationship.

In France, ideas on these matters have become very much mixed. This is partly because France is supposed to take the lead in matters of politeness, the rest of the world, at Waterloo, having shown themselves unwilling to follow her lead in anything higher; partly because of the democratic changes that have swept over France; partly because of her central position, and thus having less time than more isolated countries for deliberating on the changes made; but chiefly because the *bourgeoisie* have substituted the cash-nexus for the old feudal ideas. The old feudal ideas still linger in the terms, "*Monsieur*" and "*Madame*," "My lord" and "My lady"; but the confusion of ideas is apparent in that the servile custom of hat-doffing, introduced by priests to make mere tools of people, and taken under the patronage of the cash-nexus with the same object, has been generally adopted as a salute. To the adoption of this hat-doffing by the French as a mark of politeness, is attributable the general impression that prevails, namely that it is rude not to take off the hat. But to show that the French do not doff their hats submissively, the following extract from Hope's "*Brittany and the Chase*," written in 1856, is evidence: "Go where you will, and whatever be the weather, whether it be man, woman, or child that is accosted, off goes the hat, and not submissively, or with the Wellington touch, or even a lift, but *clean off* down to the ground." Another evidence of the French hat-doffing not being done submissively, is to be found in the fact that in the French law courts people wear their hats. In general it will be observed that the French, and those in England and elsewhere who emulate their example in this matter, perform their hat-doffing in such a way as to assimilate it to the gesture of polite bowing combined with the salute. The hat is not taken off grudgingly, but boldly; while a *graceful bow* often accompanies the salutation. If hat-doffing

had not been already a custom in vogue, doubtless the Parisian guides of fashion and etiquette would have given the same attention to bowing that has been bestowed upon the raising of the hat. It should be noted that, while hat-doffing is thus readily assimilated with the gesture and signification of a polite bow, it is in itself quite distinct, being an act of undressing one's own head.

It has been urged that in the East they make you take off your shoes before entering their mosques. This is brought forward as a parallel case to hat-doffing, the custom only differing in the fact that the feet are uncovered, instead of the head. But there is a material difference. The Mahomedan method is more intelligent than the European. 1. It does not attack the throne of reason. 2. Shoe-doffing, if it was instituted as a religious act, implies that the ground, not the roof, is held sacred. If anything outward could be sacred, the ground, nature's own handiwork, should rank before an arrangement of rafters which shuts out the light, the fresh air, &c. 3. The custom of shoe-doffing is commonly attributed to the story of Moses and the burning bush, and his being told to take off his shoes because the bit of waste ground on which he was standing, was, on that occasion, holy. But there does not appear to be any mention made throughout the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, of shoe-doffing, either in the tabernacle, the temple, or the synagogues; and if the custom were based on that one solitary act of Moses, the Jews would have been the first to follow it, and would in all probability still practice it. It is therefore evident that Moses' shoe-doffing only had to do with that particular piece of waste ground on that particular occasion, and has nothing to do with buildings. 4. In the East, it is not the custom to uncover the feet as a sign of respect to superiors. Shoe-doffing in mosques is therefore not based upon fear, as the baring of the head in steeplehouses is, in the West. 5. In point of fact, people remove their shoes on entering a mosque, to keep the place clean. The shoes are left at the door of the mosque, so as not to take the dirt inside. At the door of the mosque of Sophia in Constantinople, there is a large mat, for those to wipe their feet on, who have no shoes. This is equivalent to saying, "Wipe your feet on the door-mat, or leave your shoes at the door. Come in, if your feet are clean." In Mahomedan countries, they are very particular about washing the feet—an act which they perform several times a day. In this country people are expected to "keep off the grass" in parks, "don't touch" the curios in museums, and leave their umbrellas and walking-sticks at the entrance, lest, in pointing out the beauties of a Hogarth, they should inadvertently make a hole in the picture. 6. In Arabia, people do not enter a room, without

first having put off their shoes. This bears out the idea that shoe-doffing in the East is a matter of cleanliness. There is no parallel between this and the custom, in the West, of doffing the hat immediately on entering a private house. In the one case, it is a matter of cleanliness; in the other, it is based on a fiction, arising out of the religious custom of uncovering the head. 7. That cleanliness is the object of shoe-doffing is proved by the fact that Europeans are supplied with overshoes, which they put on outside their other pair, thus entering the mosque with two pairs on, instead of none at all—which would be the case if uncovering the feet were the object. When Fox was at Constantinople, he paid visits to Sophia's Mosque, the Janizaries, and the Tombs of the Sultans, and at each of these places he was required to put on an extra pair of shoes, outside his boots, to prevent any dirt from entering the buildings. He was not asked to take off his boots, much less insulted by having them taken off. Similarly, when Pickard was at Berlin, he had to put on an extra pair of shoes, over his boots, to prevent scratching the polished oak floors of the Emperor's palace. So, then, it is not the baring of the feet that is the object of shoe-doffing, but keeping the place clean. This receives additional confirmation from the custom at the Persian court for ambassadors and everybody however great to put on the red boots or stockings instead of their own hard, dirty out-door boots, when admitted to interview the Shah on his superb carpets. Lyall, in his "Travels in Russia, the Crimea, the Caucasus and Georgia," (Vol. II, pp. 102-3 and p. 141, 1825), makes considerable fun of a Russian General Yermalof, who boasted of having been allowed to disregard this custom in his audience with Shah Abbas Mirza, when conducting an embassy from Russia to the Persian court in 1817. This General Yermalof, though ready enough to bare his head in obedience to custom in Russia and other European countries, refused to conform to this Persian custom of changing his boots, which English and other European ambassadors had made no difficulty in observing, and of which a "Mr." Freyganch speaks as follows: "I may notice here, that, in the Persian court, they seem unacquainted with the rules of precedence and privilege so scrupulously observed towards diplomatic persons in Europe; and there is one custom which they never forego in favour of the most distinguished rank. It appeared to me very singular, and even the British ambassadors conform to it most strictly. It is required, that on all public audiences, the shoes be taken off, and the Persian slippers substituted for them. Far from affecting thereby any sort of superiority, or requiring an attention to the rule from mere ostentation, the court adheres to this formality, *as being of religious origin*. It is, moreover, a *very ancient custom*,

and tends to the preservation of their beautiful carpets, the principal ornaments of Persian houses. I therefore made my appearance before the prince in slippers." Lyall says further :—"Colonel Johnson and party, when presented to the heir-presumptive, were dressed in their own uniform, 'but in *red cloth boots*, and over them high-heeled green slippers : ' and on a similar occasion, Sir R. K. Porter says, 'We then disengaged our feet from our slippers, (*having red kerseymere socks, a kind of boot without sole under them,*) and drew near the place in which he (the Prince Abbas Mirza) sat.'" The above-mentioned Russian General Yermalof, however, made out that this act of consideration for Abbas Mirza's carpets was degrading to himself as representing his Imperial master the Tzar Alexander I ; whereupon the Shah, in order not to offend either the Tzar or his representative, but rather to indulge a fancy of special consideration, arranged for the audience to be held out-of-doors in a tent. General Yermalof congratulates himself on what he evidently considered a special attention. "With much self-complacency," says he, "the Shah gave me the first audience in a tent, which was erected in a court near the palace. The ceremony for me was different from that which had been in use on all similar occasions. All preceding foreign ambassadors had put on *red stockings*, and were conducted without slippers. I entered in ordinary boots, and was received with peculiar regard."

8. It will be evident from the above, that, whatever they do themselves, the Moslems do not compel others to conform to their custom of shoe-doffing, provided some arrangement can be substituted whereby dirt is kept off their floors, and rough boots off their carpets. This shows the Moslems to be more intelligent, and more tolerant of intelligence than the religionists of the West.

9. Uncovering the feet is an act which is not degrading in itself. In the East, the practice of going barefoot is common. British sailors are not degraded by going barefoot on board ship. Sailors mostly prefer it. In many parts of Scotland and Ireland, it is the custom for both men and women to go barefoot ; but there is nothing degrading in it. Even the street-arabs are not degraded by going barefoot. The Roman Catholic priests, in their systematic confusion of ideas, not satisfied with robbing people of their hats and heads, have taught them further to "do penance" by going barefoot, as though this were humiliating. This dodge of theirs is an attempt to blind people's eyes to the fact of their being already sufficiently humiliated by the removal of their hats, which, on the contrary, they pretend to be an "act of piety." In this way, two falsehoods are promulgated, first, that hat-doffing is not humiliating, and second, that shoe-doffing is, which has been shown to be false.

10. Mahomedans, on entering a mosque, leave their shoes at the door ; whereas Western religionists



carry their hats in their hands when entering, and carry them out again when leaving the steeplehouse. They go through this performance like a nervous waiter carrying a dish of soup. You may frequently observe the most nervous spelling over mechanically for the thousandth time, the maker's name at the bottom of his hat. 11. It is not noticeable in a crowd that people's feet are uncovered; whereas, if your hat is on in a company of bare-headed neuters, you are like a rock in the midst of the sea.

It may be argued that in the East, as well as in other parts, there are and have been other methods of showing respect, besides doffing the hat, and that hat-doffing is a much more convenient form of showing respect than any of these. These methods may be briefly enumerated as—shaking hands, kissing, embracing, bowing, kneeling, prostrating, going under the yoke, head-knocking. At first sight there would appear to be some force in this argument; but on examination it will be seen to amount to very little, as mere convenience, in a matter of this kind, is not the chief thing to be considered.

The methods here compared with hat-doffing are all intelligently planned. Each method has its own particular value. Each of these movements of the body corresponds to an idea which it is its object to express. Each is a gesture in itself, and expresses some emotion or feeling. Hat-doffing, on the contrary, is not intelligently planned. It has no particular value. Removing the hat corresponds to an idea which people do not wish to express, and would be ashamed to admit. It is no more a gesture than taking off any other part of your clothing, and does not actually express any emotion. The old-world methods of showing respect were intelligible—bowing, kneeling, prostrating, the words expressing them being also used in the Old and New Testaments and in the Koran to express the mental attitude of worship, subjection, resignation, obedience to God. When Christianity began to spread, however, these attitudes towards men, especially towards men who were not really deserving of obedience, began to be put out of court, and the powers that were seem to have found it necessary to invent some other dodge for keeping the people under their thumb. The shaving of the head was instituted as a sign of religious obedience in the monastic tonsure. And it would appear that the bare head or the uncovering of the head was imposed as a sign of obedience to the priests (under the fiction that they represented God and Christ), and consequently to the civil powers that the priests upheld. People were found willing to uncover their heads who would have refused to prostrate, and thus the old habit of *subjection to authority* through fear and servility, was perpetuated

in a more subtle and degrading manner than before, because unintelligible, and therefore making those who submitted to it unintelligent. And not only so, but having rendered the people submissive and unintelligent, it was not found so difficult a matter to reimpose upon them the bowing, kneeling and prostrating, and to cause their minds to go under the yoke of slavery, from which the "Church" professed to be emancipating their bodies. Prostrating means utter subjection or obedience to, kneeling means dependence upon for favours or commands, bowing means respect, in varying degrees from a nod to a profound obeisance. These things are intelligible; but hat-doffing is not intelligible. Its degrading power seems largely to consist in its being unintelligible, and making the giver feel a fool, and the receiver a senseless tyrant. When a man takes his hat off, he seems to say, "See what a fool I am willing to be to please you!" Thus hat-doffing, in place of the intelligently graduated symbols by which the ancient world expressed the distinctions of caste, the marks of conquest, of submission, and of slavery, has been instituted as an all-inclusive makeshift for perpetuating the slavery of the mind. It is, like so many of our modern ways, cheap; and herein its virtue is generally supposed to consist, as the writer in *Tit Bits*, reprinted on a previous page of this volume (p. 63), expresses his notion about hat-doffing, rather than the fact about it, "We all doff hats to each other." If this were true, what would come of the "respect" it is supposed to represent? We don't all respect one another, or at least not equally. But it is not a fact that "we all doff hats to each other." The hat is removed to those who are in possession of a "respectable" amount of money. Hat-doffing is definitely a cash-nexus performance, being the complete form of hat-touching. In point of fact the cabman who touches his hat does not degrade himself so much as the hat-doffer, inasmuch as he leaves his hat on his head. He leaves it on, because he is somewhat independent after all, and has his responsibilities. He has charge of the horse. The hat-doffer has charge of nothing, being out on show. While hat-doffing, though imposed upon mankind through the medium of religion, is really a cash-nexus performance, the other methods of showing respect mentioned above derive their origin variously from nature, from the patriarchal, the feudal and the caste systems, the institution of slavery, and the relations of victor and vanquished in war, the last, that of head-knocking, as will be seen later, being more closely allied to hat-doffing and deriving its origin from a similar cause. It will now be necessary to say something more definitely regarding each of these methods of showing respect, namely, shaking hands, kissing, embracing, bowing, kneeling, prostrating, going under the yoke, head-knocking.

1. Shaking hands is a sign of union between equals, or union on a basis of equality. Hence in the official receptions of the American President, he and his wife shake hands with the whole company. The same idea of equality was finely exemplified in the spirited action of General Grant on his visit to the Pope. Instead of bowing, kneeling, or kissing the Pope's toe, this saviour of his country upheld that country's dignity by going straight up to him, and shaking him heartily by the hand. The Bedouin Arabs, perhaps the freest people on earth, salute one another by shaking hands, kissing, and embracing, which acts are frequently performed on horseback. When shaking hands they ask the question, "How art thou?" This, and their salutations, "Peace be with thee," and "On thee be peace," remind one of the first Quakers. A hand-shake implies not only equality but union, and, without some basis of union mutually understood at the time, becomes a hypocritical and therefore harmful performance. Samuel Johnson refused to shake hands with Abbe Raynal the atheist, for by so doing he considered he would be countenancing his opinions. Fox, when travelling in Ireland, and also at Yearly Meeting, as narrated in the first volume of this book, refused to shake hands with any so-called Friends, until he was convinced that they were real Friends (that is, friends of truth) and could therefore give the sign of union with sincerity. Much might be said, if space allowed, on the varieties of hand-shaking. There is the formal hand-shake, merely performed because it is the custom. Akin to this is the gloved hand-shake, cold and dead; and the chilling presentation of two fingers. Then there is the flabby hand-shake, in which an apparently lifeless, boneless limb is offered *to be shaken*, or, as is more likely, dropped. A wide range indeed of thought and feeling extends from the hearty hand-shake of true friendship to the Judas hand-shake of the traitor. And who is not familiar with that modern development, the patronising hand-shake, that specious pretence of union and equality by which power over others is maintained? That was but a doubtful kindness which prompted William White to stand at the door and compel a shake of the hand from all, whether they wished it or not, on their exit from the Birmingham Adult School classes; for equality was largely make-believe, union doubtful, and freedom very limited indeed. Such compulsory hand-shaking of the moneyed religious and philanthropic with their dependents, is like taking a woman's hand in a dance; as she has to follow through the dance, so the servile *have to follow* their patrons in the dance set them. It therefore transpires that the hand-shake, the sign of union between free equals, can be and often is hypocritically turned into a performance closely allied to going under the yoke, the old symbol of submission to

slavery. This last remark applies also to the "Benediction" or laying on of hands, and the various forms of salutation connected with it; from a blessing and a sign of favour, it becomes a curse when unworthily and thoughtlessly performed. How many spirited children have writhed under the patting of their heads. And what righteous indignation the handling of people at "revivals" has occasioned. The practice of putting the hand on a person's shoulder or arm is a common resort of the unscrupulous in the exercise of power; while a sudden clap on the back, by knocking all the breath out of you, may be a ready method of securing an advantage. A striking example of the apparently benevolent but in reality jesuitical and domineering manipulation of people by religious schemers above referred to, has just come to hand in Hodgson's "Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century," Vol. I, p. 337. When J. J. Gurney was travelling in America, he came to the house of a young Friend named Thomas B. Gould. This young man having taken the opportunity of stating to J. J. Gurney his dissatisfaction with his writings, the latter said, "Oh, my dear friend, I did not come here on that account at all; I only came to manifest my love for thee and the family." Some further conversation on the point raised is then narrated, in the course of which "J. J. Gurney again made large professions of love for him, put one arm around him, and laid the other hand on his knee, in a fondling manner, and said, 'All I can say is, to recommend thee to the Master, to whom thou must leave me';" but "utterly refused, again and again, to enter into any *discussion*, as he chose to call it, upon the soundness of his writings." The above calls to mind an incident narrated by Bourrienne, which occurred at Napoleon's coronation ceremony. Bourrienne says:—"An ill-bred young man kept his hat on in the pope's presence: some persons, indignant at such indecorum, advanced to take it off, which occasioned some disturbance, when the pope, observing the cause, stepped up to the young man, and said to him in a tone of kindness truly patriarchal, 'Young man, uncover that you may receive my blessing. An old man's blessing never yet harmed anyone.' The Tartar salutation curiously combines the characteristics of the hand-shake with those of the benediction. When a Siberian Tartar visits his neighbour, he walks into the hut, sits down, and lights his pipe. No notice is taken of his entrance, and only after some time the ordinary salutation of friendship is given, by the host placing his right hand on the visitor's forehead. (Niemojowski, *Siberian Pictures*.) That shaking hands is a natural sign of equality, receives confirmation from the fact that African chiefs are jealous of allowing people to shake hands with them. Mungo Park was warned not to do so.

2. Kissing is a sign of much closer union than the hand-shake.

Hence a Judas kiss is a name for the blackest treachery. Kissing means, "I am with you." The "holy kiss" is mentioned by Paul as a salutation common among the first Christians. It would appear to have been a dignified symbol of close unity between people whose minds held stern sway over their bodies; but the history of kissing as a religious act does not speak favourably for the practice. Some curious kissing customs are still extant. There is what is known in Ireland as the Viceroy's kiss, which is still part of Dublin Castle etiquette, but reflects little credit on either party to the performance. Indiscriminate kissing between the sexes is demoralising, no matter how customary, as in "the kissing ring." Kissing should not be a common act like hand-shaking. Kissing the hand means, "I am with you in what you do." It also would seem to imply some degree of subjection. There is more to be said for it as a salutation to a queen than to a king. Isabel Burton says the Syrian priests like to receive the attention of having their hands kissed. The method of salutation amongst the Syrian tribes, however, is to touch hands. If you attempt to kiss their hands, they snatch them away with a jerk, reproachfully ejaculating, "Astaghfir 'Ullah!" (I beg pardon of Allah, or God forbid that such a thing should happen.) If you permit it, they kiss your hand, however, and ridicule you in their minds as a fool, who delights in such flattery like a priest. In the *Graphic* for September 18, 1897, is a sketch representing Cardinal Perraud and Cardinal Vaughan going round and giving their hands to be kissed by fashionably dressed men and women on their knees, after the performance during the recent pilgrimage to Ebbsfleet. It is noticeable how the selfish Russian "society" women of Turgenev's novels delight in having their hands kissed by obsequious male (and female) admirers. Take for example Marya Dmitrievna in "A House of Gentlefolk." Hand-kissing would appear to be a common Russian practice. This attention has long been prized by the priests of the Roman hierarchy. When Pope Leo visited Charlemagne at Paderborn, Charles descended from his throne where he was dispensing justice, advanced towards him, and after, as Sismundi expresses it, "adoring him according to the ceremonial of the popes" (whatever that may mean), took his hand, kissed it, and passed with him through the crowd which thrice prostrated itself before the pontiff. Such a performance as this was a sad come down for Charlemagne. It was akin to letting the Pope crown him, made him less of a king than he might otherwise have been, and not so great as he was capable of being. Charlemagne was intellectually head and shoulders above the priests and popes of his day, and he found it necessary to hold out against them about image worship and other things. For learning, enlightenment and Christianity he



had to appeal to Britain and Ireland, and for an intellectual peer among princes he would have had to travel to Baghdad to visit the Kaliph Haroun al Raschid. Cardinals kiss the Pope's hand and receive the accolade; bishops kiss his hand and knee; and prelates of lower degree, his foot. How has it come to pass that Roman Catholic devotees kiss the Pope's toe, the part he kicks with? Such a performance implies, "I am with you in what you undo, trample on, persecute." The woman who poured the ointment on Jesus' feet, did not kiss the toe, but the instep, the place of stability, firmness. However it originated, this custom of kissing the Pope's toe seems to have been early instituted, and to have been also adopted by those royalties who considered their authority to be derived from him. An amusing story is told of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy. The bishops told him he could not receive the dukedom without kissing the feet of the puppet king at Paris. Sismundi says: "It was always they (the priests) who introduced into feudality these servile forms, so foreign to barbarous manners." "Never," said Rollo, "will I bend my knee before the knees of anyone, or will I kiss the foot of a mortal." As the bishops insisted, he ordered one of his soldiers to do the trick for him. Whereupon the soldier, without stooping, seized the foot of the degenerate Frank, and lifted it so roughly to his mouth that he threw Charles down backwards; an act received by the Normans with bursts of laughter. And this same rough Rollo and his descendants became the restorers of order out of religious anarchy, and the makers of Feudal Europe. Kissing garments means, "I am with your customs." Kissing the priests' and monks' garments, as the Spaniards do, means, "I am with your religious customs." It is not stated that the hem of Jesus' garment was kissed, but only that it was touched. To touch the seamless robe of truth brings life. There is no medicine like union with the truth, although it requires faith and courage to take it.

3. Embracing means close union between free equals. Arab Sheiks embrace on horseback. The French embrace. Only a spirited, intellectual, self-contained and self-respecting race of men could do it. A nation that can embrace one-another in public is not frightened of the Devil. Few Englishmen could embrace publicly without making fools of themselves. Therefore they assume that Frenchmen are fools. But this does not follow.

Hand-shaking, kissing, and embracing are all good in their place, if strictly kept there; but in these weak, false, flabby days, the word should be: "Keep off! Keep your body to yourself! I unite with nobody, unless I am first sure that I unite in mind." It is not necessary to unite on all points, or even on many points, in order to shake hands; but it is necessary to unite in mind on

some point, that there may be a mutual understanding as to what the hand-shake means. If a man wants to shake hands with you in order to get your support in what you do not unite with, refuse him your hand, however many other points you may unite with him upon. Kissing and embracing are much more expensive acts than hand-shaking, and therefore require still greater care in their exercise.

4. Bowing means "I approve," a low bow "I support," or even, as the word "obeisance" implies, "I obey." The root idea of bowing, however, seems to be that of approval—"I incline to that idea." There are four kinds of bowing. 1. *Bowing the head.* A nod of the head signifies "Yes," approval, recognition. A more deliberately and gravely performed bow of the head combines with this an expression of respect. In Genesis, xxiv, 26, Abraham's servant "bowed his head" in recognition, when Rebekah at the well made known who she was, having found what he was in search of. Also in Exodus, iv, 31, when the people believed what Moses and Aaron told them about going up out of Egypt, they "bowed their heads." In both these cases "and worshipped" is added, implying that the approval and recognition were serious and sincere, that the people not only approved but were prepared to obey the command of God through Moses and Aaron, and that Abraham's servant acknowledged God's presence with him on his journey and was prepared to carry out the rest of his mission. Again, in Genesis, xlv, 28, when Joseph asked his brothers whether their father was yet alive, they "bowed their heads and made obeisance," saying by these gestures, "Yes, he is. What is thy wish concerning him?" and acknowledging Joseph's superiority and power over them. As a nod of the head means "Yes," or approval, so a shake of the head means "No," and disapproval; and a toss of the head means "No" disdainfully. Shrugging the shoulders is another gesture of contempt; a curl of the lip another; while raising the eyebrows signifies surprise. 2. *Bowing the knee.* The idea of God in man is—"Stick to your kingdom." God does not want us to give up our kingdoms, but to hold on to them faithfully. He does not say, "Unto me all hats shall doff;" but, "Unto me all knees shall bow." The creature man is to bow before God within, to make his kingdom part of God's kingdom. Again, Paul says (Philippians, ii, 10), "In the name of Jesus every knee shall bow;" that is, in the way of Jesus, who did the will of God in truth, without any pretence. In Genesis, xli, 43, the Egyptians had to "bow the knee" to Joseph as he passed in his chariot, as being Pharaoh's representative. Bowing the knee implies not only approval but acknowledgment of superior power and authority, and is akin to the act of kneeling to receive authority from a feudal superior. Elijah found to his

surprise that there were seven thousand who had not "bowed the knee" to Baal, who had not done service to untruth for the rewards of iniquity. Curtseying is a stupid form of bowing the knee. It is like a trembling from fear, or giving way of weak knees that Isaiah said were to be confirmed. Curtseying has no direct connection with hat-doffing, but readily takes the place of it with women and girls, both acts being performed under the influence of fear, and both acts being cheap and humiliating. 3. *Bowing the body.* Etiquette demands a low bow to people you have not been introduced to, regardless of who they are. It is curious to find two such writers as Carlyle and Tolstoy apologising for this, under the plausible excuse of God being in all men, and the bowing being performed to God in them. Carlyle in *Sartor*, quoting Novalis, says, "Bending before men is a reverence done to this Revelation in the Flesh. We touch Heaven, when we lay our hands on a human body." One might well ask him, "Are thou *earth* then, and a *body* heaven?" Again he says, "I would bow to every man with any sort of hat, or with no hat whatever. Is not he a Temple, &c.?" And Tolstoy has expressed a similar levelling sentiment, using the word "prostrate." Plausible as this reasoning may sound, it is a delusion and a dangerous one, and is a convenient way of escaping from awkward practical difficulties. Such bowing and prostrating would not be understood in this sense by those to whom it was rendered. Besides, if it be rendered equally to all, wherein is its value? It would be as respectful and much more dignified for all to stand upright, than for all to bow down or prostrate themselves before each other. If it is right to bow low to men at all, it should only be done to those who deserve obedience and profound respect, not to all and sundry. Li Hung Chang's three bows before the statue of Gordon were a dignified expression of profound respect for the character of that great man and his services to China. Bowing in the Middle Ages used to be compulsory to the aristocracy. In Venice before the Revolution, a tradesman, meeting a nobleman, made a stand and a low bow, not raising himself till the other had passed, and pronouncing in a humble tone the word, "Eccellenza." Fancy such men as Carlyle and Tolstoy wishing to perpetuate such a performance to all and sundry on the theory that God is in them all! 4. *Bowing to the ground.* As bowing the knee partakes of the character of kneeling to render allegiance to a suzerain power, and therefore every knee (figuratively) must bow to God, and in the spirit in which Jesus lived must serve him, in deed and in truth; so bowing to the ground partakes of the character of prostration, and implies subjection and obedience also, but rather the obedience of the slave than that of the feudal dependent. In Joseph's dream the sheaves "bowed

down" to his sheaf, and in the Old Testament there is much about "bowing down." Mordecai refused to "bow down" to Haman. Daniel's three friends refused to "bow down" to Nebuchadnezzar's image. In China, three bows with fingers touching the ground is a sign of profound respect. This is almost the same as prostration, though not so abject. All these several degrees of bowing, if done to worthy people and intelligently, are less harmful than hat-doffing. There is no need in any of them to lose one's self-respect, unless they are done to unworthy people, or unworthily. Perhaps, however, for an out-and-out man, a grave bow of approval or recognition is the lowest form of salutation truth would justify to his fellow man, even if it were to a veritable king.

5. Kneeling is the attitude of a dependent. It may be degrading, and it may be rather the reverse, according to who kneels and before whom he kneels. It has been the attitude from ancient times commonly taken by subjects before their sovereigns. People speak to the Emperor of China on their knees. His sentences are final. He stands in the place of God to his people. He is called the "Son of Heaven," and is supposed to be responsible for everything, even the weather. People have to greet the king of Dahomey on their knees, and with clapping of hands. The Japanese on ordinary occasions show respect by bending the knee; on extraordinary occasions they go down on one knee and bow to the ground. The words in the Bible, "To me every knee shall bow," and "In the name of Jesus every knee shall bow," have been strained by the priests into a command not only to kneel in prayer to God, but also to kneel to them (the priests), to the powers they uphold, and to images, shrines, &c. The pavement where Thomas a Becket's shrine used to be in Canterbury Cathedral, is worn by the knees of the devotees of three centuries. The Irish seem to have brought themselves to their present deplorable condition largely by kneeling and taking off their hats in obedience to the priests. It must also be noticed that the Roman Catholic priests, when they got this kneeling business into their hands, made it as degrading as possible—the people being made to kneel on their bare knees. So did this degrading notion of the priests with their hat-doffing permeate society, that it became general for the civil and military authorities to enforce degrading acts for the sake of keeping people *down*. In the remarkable account of the experiences of Richard Sellar the Yorkshire Quaker on board a man-of-war in the reign of Charles II., it is narrated how sailors had to turn their breeches up and go on their bare knees when craving a favour from their "superiors." This is like the priests of Baal cutting themselves to please their malignant devil-god; the powers that enforce such performances as these

are malignant devil-powers. In Spain, at theatres, the *Ave* bell rings before the performance, and all the people fall down on their knees and remain in that position for some minutes. In the streets of Lisbon, a bell is rung when the "host" passes, and the people fall on their knees, remaining in that position, however unfavourable the weather, crossing themselves, till the procession has passed. This is also the case at Rome, and in the most Catholic parts of Europe and America. It should be noted, with regard to this religious kneeling, that we read nothing of it in the New Testament; while there is, according to H.G. Guinness, "no kneeling mentioned or depicted in the catacombs. The position of prayer is standing with uplift hands. Kneeling was introduced as a penance." At the accession of Queen Mary, the two Houses of Parliament received absolution from the Papal Legate (Cardinal Pole) from their supposed guilt of "Schism and heresy," on bended knees. Tennyson's "Queen Mary" contains the following dialogue:—

*Officer.* Sir Ralph Bagenhall!

*Bagenhall.* What of that?

*Officer.* You were the one sole man in either house,  
Who stood upright when both the houses fell.

*Bagenhall.* The houses fell!

*Officer.* I mean the houses knelt  
Before the Legate.

*Bagenhall.* Do not scrimp your phrase,  
But stretch it wider; say when England fell.

*Officer.* I say you were the one sole man who stood.

*Bagenhall.* I am the one sole man in either house,  
Perchance in England, loves her like a son.

*Officer.* Well, you one man, because you stood upright,  
Her Grace the Queen commands you to the Tower.

*Bagenhall.* As traitor, or as heretic, or for what?

*Officer.* If any man in any way would be  
The one man, he shall be so to his cost...."

D'Aubigne tells us that even Barnes, the Protestant martyr in Henry VIII.'s reign, according to the then custom, fell on his knees before Wolsey. There is a striking contrast between this state of things brought about by the Church which professes to receive its authority from Peter, and that Apostle's words to Cornelius the Roman centurion who was kneeling to him: "Stand up. I myself also am a man." The Pope, who would have us believe he is Peter's successor, says, on the contrary: "Kneel down and kiss my toe." The feudal act of going down on one knee to be knighted, called "homage," shows us kneeling in its better aspect. The Feudal System is Caste waking up. There is a certain amount of life and movement in the feudal relationship; whereas



caste is stationary. In this "homage," and the one-knee posture for receiving knighthood from an actual superior, there is development rather than degradation. Modern knighthood is, however, mainly a money affair; and the title of Baronet was originated by James I to be sold for so much cash. Scraping was an apology for going on one knee, a miserable remnant of feudal customs when their life had fled, like curtseying is a miserable remnant of bowing the knee as before stated. Hence to George Fox scraping was all of a piece with hat-doffing. It would seem from the above remarks that kneeling is less degrading than hat-doffing when performed with the feudal idea; but nowadays generally speaking kneeling is an even more degrading act than hat-doffing. Numbers of people would not kneel at the Pope's high mass in Peter's, when all the power Rome could muster was on show in 1870; but no one appears to have dared to be the "one man" of Tennyson, and to retain his hat upon his head.

6. Prostrating signifies unreserved and entire submission and obedience. The Arabic word translated "worship" in the opening passage of the Koran means to prostrate oneself before: "Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way." Again, the principal Greek word translated "worship" in the New Testament means to prostrate oneself before, as for example in John, iv, 21-25: "The hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father [that is, worship is not a matter of place and ceremonial]. ... God is spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth." Both these passages teach that worship consists in our surrender and obedience to God; but they do not teach prostration either of body or of mind before any of God's creatures however exalted; and we have in the last chapter of the Bible a direct command not to do so, Revelation, xxi, 8, 9: "And I John am he that heard and saw these things. And when I heard and saw, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which showed me these things. And he saith unto me, See thou do it not; I am a fellow servant with thee and with thy brethren the prophets, and with them which keep the words of this book: worship God." At the same time it must be pointed out that to prostrate oneself before an acknowledged superior is not so degrading as to doff one's hat in obedience to mere custom. The Chinese are adepts in the art of showing respect ceremonially. If that were, as religious people and sticklers for "propriety" even now in this country try to make us believe, a true index of respect, we could not do better than send our sons to school in the "Celestial Empire." The first instruction a Chinese boy receives, is how to make obeisance and prostrate himself in company. It is also the custom in Siam, Burmah, and other coun-

tries, to fall on the face before persons of superior rank. Siamese mandarins either did or do continually prostrate themselves before the king, whose commands they instantly obey. The bashaws of the sultans of Morocco are said to lie on the ground before him, kiss the earth, and rising embrace his feet—hardly the thing, if it be a fact, for Moslems to do, considering that it has also been stated that a Moslem never touches the ground with his head. Perhaps the Moslem faith has become adulterated in Morocco with the kind of degrading servitude so notorious at the court of the tyrant of Dahomey. It has been stated that a minister of this potentate crawls towards the audience chamber on his hands and knees till he arrives in the presence, where he lays himself flat on his belly, rubbing his head in the dust, and calling himself all sorts of slavish names. When the king of Benin surrendered himself to the English, only a few months ago, he prostrated himself and rubbed his forehead three times in the dust, in accordance with native custom. Crawling is a kind of continuous prostration; and it seems to be a common custom in Africa to throw sand on the head as a sign of submission. Another, and perhaps the most striking indignity offered to the head in old times, was the custom of a conqueror placing his foot upon the heads of his prostrate captives. These two last mentioned performances, the latter submitted to, the former self-inflicted, are distinctly and purposely degrading, being directed at the head as the seat of reason, will-power and self-respect, and implying a kind of slavery that would turn man into a brute. It should not, however, be forgotten, in this connection, that the same priestly hierarchies which have so successfully imposed upon "Christendom" the degrading custom of hat-doffing, are also notorious for the way they have utilised for their purposes the degrading forms of prostration, crawling on bare knees, and kissing the ground. When Pickard was at Prague, the capital of Bohemia, once the home of Reformation, but since darkened again in a sea of blood, he observed quite a number of people kneeling, and prostrating themselves on their faces, before the statues of the "Saints" on the old bridge. The Russian religious prostrations are well known from pictures and narratives of travel. One is also reminded of pictures of devotees on their faces before the Grand Lama in Thibet. It may be, as the modern sentimentalists who delight in glimmers and faint gleams of light, in twilight effects and different shades in grey, continually remind us, that these people's minds are not as dark as such acts would lead one to suppose. There is not, however, so long as they go through these performances, much chance of their understanding the meaning of the angel's words to the prophet: "Son of man, stand on thy feet." The old Mexicans seem to

have had some sense of personal dignity, or was it a wise and practical precaution for their own safety, when they modified the act of prostration so as to retain their power to act? Their sign of profound respect was to touch the ground with their hands and then kiss them. Was this a symbol of the feudal submission—surrendering the mind to the service of another without thereby impairing that mind's activity? If so, it would seem to imply: "I'd prostrate myself and kiss the ground at your feet, but I must stand to your service. You might need defending."

7. Going under the yoke seems to have been a mark of submission imposed upon the conquered in war, whereby they preserved their lives by becoming slaves. Even this was more honest than hat-doffing, and therefore less degrading.

8. Head-knocking is the one of the list most like hat-doffing, and it seems to be peculiar to China. The ceremonies of the Chinese national religion include kneeling, bowing, and knocking the head on the ground. Where the Emperor officiates the last part of the ceremony is partly dispensed with: the nine knockings of the head are turned into bows. The "Son of Heaven" evidently does not think it conducive to his dignity to knock his head on the ground in public. There are times, however, such as a prolonged drought, when he goes through the head-knocking performance by himself on behalf of his country; at such times, when praying for rain *in extremis*, he practically says: "I don't understand it. I knock my head. I surrender my reason to superstition, and hope rain will come. Bother my head; it can't manage this state of affairs." Head-knocking, then, would seem to be much like putting one's hand to one's head in perplexity, scratching one's head in worry, tearing one's hair in desperation, or throwing ashes on one's head in woe. Head-knocking, though more honest and therefore more intelligible, is akin to hat-doffing, the former being the Chinese, the latter the European method of dishonouring the head, surrendering the citadel of reason to superstitious notions arising from fear, ignorance and sin. It will perhaps be interesting, and will exhibit this striking parallel, and show how favourably the Chinese method compares with the European, to quote from a Chinese Emperor's prayer on such an extreme occasion as is mentioned above. (See R. M. Martin's *China*, 1847.) The Emperor begins:—"Kneeling, a memorial is hereby presented, to cause affairs to be heard. Oh, alas! Imperial Heaven, were not the world afflicted by extraordinary changes, I would not dare to present extraordinary services. But this year the drought is most unusual. Summer is past, and no rain has fallen. Not only do agriculture and human beings feel the dire calamity, but also beasts and insects, herbs and trees almost cease to live. I, the minister of Heaven, am placed

over mankind, and am responsible for keeping the world in order, and tranquillising the people. Although it is now impossible for me to sleep or eat with composure ; although I am scorched with grief and tremble with anxiety ; still, after all, no genial or copious showers have been obtained. ... Looking up, I consider that Heaven's heart is benevolence and love. The sole cause is the daily deeper atrocity of my sins ; with but little sincerity and little devotion. Hence I have been unable to move Heaven's heart, and bring down abundant blessings. ... Prostrate, I beg Imperial Heaven to pardon my ignorance and stupidity, and to grant me self-renovation ; for myriads of innocent people are involved by me, a single man. My sins are so numerous, it is difficult to escape from them. Summer is past, and autumn arrived ; to wait longer will be impossible. Knocking head I pray, Imperial Heaven, to hasten and confer gracious deliverance, a speedy and divinely beneficial rain, to save the people's lives ; and in some degree redeem my iniquities. Oh, alas ! Imperial Heaven observe these things, be gracious. I am frightened. Reverently this memorial is presented."

The kindred practices of tonsure and hat-doffing do not seem to have been imposed to any great extent on the ancient world, monarchs not usually wishing to make even their slaves or prisoners of war look like idiots, but requiring their submission and services. The priestly power, too, was as a rule subordinated to that of the kings, at least in those periods and nations of which history tells. The common salute seems to have been touching the head or bowing, while the signs of lower obeisance have just been described. There are, however, traces of the tonsure or shaving of the head to be found both among peoples of a low stage of development today, and also in the past as marks of slavery, of mourning, or of religious vows. Two passages from Jeremiah are enough to show what he understood the tonsure to signify. In chap. vii, 29, he says : "Cut off thine hair (margin, Heb. thy crown), O Jerusalem, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation on the bare heights ; for the Lord has rejected and forsaken the generation of his wrath." Again, in chap. ii, 17, in blaming his people for giving away their manhood to Egypt, looking to a slavish power for help instead of to their own God of truth and right-doing, the prophet says : "The children of Noph and Tahpanes have broken (margin, fed on) the crown of thy head." Egypt had uncrowned them—taken away their manhood. We read of the Greeks of Miletus shaving their heads in mourning for the destruction of Sybaris ; and Denham tells how, when a native of Dahomey dies, his wives and relatives shave their heads. Humiliation, mourning, degradation, were the ideas con-

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nected with shaving the head in ancient times ; and there is not much difference today, except that in more recent times the custom appears to have become more common as a religious act: J. M. Wheeler in his *Footsteps of the Past* says, "The close crop of prisons is a relic of the Roman fashion of treating slaves. Hair was a piacular offering to the gods instead of the person." In the regions of Central Africa, Denham found a similar state of things. The Bornouese men's heads were usually closely shaved, and those of the lower orders uncovered ; while in some parts head-shaving is a heavy punishment and disgrace. Near Lake Tchad, before a man is executed, he is dragged round the village with his head shaved. The Sultan of Bornou was a good-for-nothing lazy old lout, who sat in a cage, with his face covered up, and had the praises of his pedigree continually recited to him by his equally useless and lazy courtiers, who prided themselves on their huge turbans and huge stomachs. No wonder these animals had to keep the lower orders shaved and bare-headed and their monarch sacredly in a cage, in order to maintain their privileges and position. It is stated that slaves carried to Beloochistan have their heads shaved if women, and their beards if men. In Russia the heads of lunatics are shaved, and presumably therefore also of those who are locked up in the asylums for having a larger supply of wit than the official regulations allow. F. W. Robertson, in his book, *Female Life in Prison*, describes what tragic scenes occur in this country when the female prisoners have to lose their hair. During the French Revolution General Dumouriez, finding his raw recruits turn mutinous, shaved their heads and eyebrows, and sent them into the world as a sign. Julius Cæsar, when subduing the Gauls, finding that they prided themselves on their long hair, made them cut it off as a token of submission ; while some writers of the early centuries of this era state that in France there were different cuts for the different qualities and conditions, from the prince who wore it at full length, to the slave or villein who was quite cropt. The Teton Indians of North America used to shave their heads, all but a tuft at the top which they wore in plaits over their shoulders, similar to the Chinese pigtail. The Chinese pigtail is not, however, Chinese, but was forced upon them at the time of the Tartar conquest, previous to which they were known as "the black haired," both men and women wearing their hair long without ever cutting it. Other races of Tartar descent or connection, Poles, Circassians, Mooltan Indians, shave part of the head, leaving only a circle or a tuft of hair on the crown. Unlike the Roman Catholics they keep the crown on, though the rest can go. The Roman Catholics, on the contrary, don't mind so much about the rest, so long as the crown is off. Turks, or some of them,

shave their heads, but wear turbans or fezes indoors and out. They have a proverb that "The Devil nestles in long hair." Thus they have an excuse for not following the custom of the Arabs from whom they got their faith, but adhering to their ancestral Tartar custom. That hair, like other signs of vitality, may be a cause of pride and lead to disaster, is shown in the story of Absalom; but that it may represent a superior vitality to that of the Devil is as clearly shown in that of Samson, in whose case the Devil in the form of Delilah had to shear him before making him a prisoner; as Milton has it: "A deceitful concubine who shore me, then turned me out ridiculous, despoiled, shaven, and disarmed among mine enemies." From this one might reasonably infer that to be able to "keep your hair on" means you can control yourself, whereas to "get yer 'air cut" means you are unable to do so; and those who shout the latter exhortation from a safe distance after your retreating figure, if your hair is a trifle longer than their own, mean by it: "We are all unmanned. Unman yourself."

The tonsure of religious mendicants is not confined to what is called Christendom, but exists in Asia also, where the Lamas of Thibet occupy a similar position to that of the Roman Pontiffs in Europe. The Grand Lama causes his disciples' heads to be shaved. During a journey into China to visit the Emperor on his seventyeth birthday, he received adoration from thousands and caused many heads to be shaved. (See R. M. Martin's *China*, 1847.) The vows of the Chinese Buddhist priests are, to renounce all family connections, shave their heads, and reside in temples. In Buddhist nunneries, the nun is distinguished from the novice by being completely shaved, while the novice has only a shaved patch on the crown. Religious mendicants in India often shave the head. Shivajee, the founder of the Mahratta power in the seventeenth century, when disguising himself as a religious mendicant to escape from Aurungzebe, shaved his head. Mahomedan calendars, like begging friars, who go about selling relics, hair of Mahomet, &c., to superstitious devotees, are not only shaved all over their heads but bare-headed also. They are said to be a dangerous class of people, their doctrines being anarchic and subversive of order. The dervish, however, wears his hair. Shaving the head seems also to have been used as a sign of temporary vows. In Acts, xviii, 18, Paul is said to have "shorn his head in Cenchrea" with this object. The early Moslems shaved their heads after accomplishing the pilgrimage to Mecca. That religious tonsure was practiced by priests among the Chaldeans and other peoples with whom the Jews came in contact, appears from the fact of Ezekiel telling the Jewish priests (chap. xlv, 20) neither to wear their hair very long nor to shave or crop it close,



but to observe moderation. Jerome very properly appealed for support to this wise counsel of Ezekiel, when he found himself called upon in the fourth century to oppose the institution of the monastic tonsure.

Perhaps the above instances are enough to afford a clue to the origin of the monkish tonsure of the middle ages, which implies obedience to religious authority, retirement from life in the world, and the extinction of individuality. The shaved monk, like the cropped prisoner, forfeits his name, the one receiving a religious label with "Frater" before it, the other a numeral with "Number" before it. Tonsure does not seem to have been the custom of the Church in the fourth century, for Optatus upbraids the Donatists for having shaved the heads of some Catholic priests and bishops in that century as an insult; while Jerome emphatically condemns the practice. It was probably introduced among the monks in the fifth century. The Eastern or Greek Church tonsure was a complete shave of the head, and was performed as a sign of "initiation" into "orders." The "tonsure of James," or, as it was sometimes called, the "tonsure of Simon the Magician," and which was adopted by some in the East, and also by the Irish and British Churches, only shaved the front of the head as far back as a line from ear to ear. This, however, does not seem to have been compulsory; for in a very ancient picture discovered in the old Irish *Cuah* box, Columba is represented with his hair on and flowing over his shoulders in the manner of the old Celtic bards. This shows that the early Irish Christians who were spoken of in Britain, and the other countries they travelled to, as "stars" and "flames," did not consider Christianity to be a negation of life and manhood, nor tonsure and blind obedience to authority to be a sign of goodness. They seem, however, to have adopted the so-called "tonsure of St. James;" for when the tug of war took place with the Roman hierarchy, the sign of submission was to substitute for that the more thorough-going tonsure called of "St. Peter," which removed the hair from the crown and back of the head, leaving a ring of hair, which was ridiculously said to represent "the crown of thorns." Perhaps there could be no better example of a bold and bare-faced lie than this, or a more outrageous distortion of truth into its opposite—that people should be taught that to "cut off the crown" as Jeremiah puts it, represents the wearing of the crown of self-sacrificing yet triumphant life. The last incident of this struggle in Britain, when Naitan king of the Picts was used by Rome to get the Scotch Church of Iona under the papal dominion, is described by D'Aubigne in his fifth volume, where he says:—"He sent agents and letters into every province, and caused all the ministers and monks to receive the circular

tonsure according to the Roman fashion. It was the mark that Popery stamped, not on the forehead but on the crown. A royal proclamation and a few clips of the scissors placed the Scotch, like a flock of sheep, beneath the crook of the shepherd of the Tiber." Iona itself also soon gave way. "The scissors were brought; they received the Latin tonsure; they were the pope's." How much better would it have been, had they followed Paul's injunction to Timothy: "Let no man take thy crown." The tonsure became in the Dark Ages a very convenient engine of the lovers of darkness. The way to destroy a man (a king, a warrior, or other genius) without killing him, was to shave his crown and imprison him in a monastery. In this manner many who might have been shining lights were extinguished; and, once uncrowned, there was no getting back what had been lost. Like the hopeless land of which Dante wrote, upon their prison door was written: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." The tonsured one could no longer be a king, or even a man. The priest had taken away his crown, and stood above him. One can form some estimate of the power represented by this religious tonsure, when a man like William Tyndale, whose life was one long struggle against it, who wore the crown of thorns and bore the cross with good effect amongst the tonsurers and crucifiers, says: "By that word 'church' you understand nothing but a multitude of shorn and oiled." That even the monks themselves knew the tonsure to be degrading, is shown by the martyr Sawtre being dragged to Paul's, his hair shaved off, a "layman's cap placed on his head," and then given the fires of Smithfield. The fires of hell were promised for him also, but happily were not in the power of his persecutors to give.

In contradistinction to the unmanning and degrading ideas associated with the tonsure, long hair has in all ages been associated with ideas of life and freedom. The Frank kings never had their hair cut; it was a privilege of the royal family to wear long hair. Gypsies wear long hair. So do North American Indians. The Araucans of Chili, though carefully extracting all hair from their faces (a common practice among the tribes of both North and South America) wore long black hair on their heads. The Sikhs of the Punjaub, the Ironsides of the Hindoo faith, never used scissors on either hair or beard. The Spartans wore long hair. When Xerxes was told that a body of Greeks under a Spartan (Leonidas) were going to dispute his passage of Thermopilæ, he refused to believe it; and he was still more astonished, when a horseman sent to reconnoitre brought back word that he had seen several Spartans outside the wall in front of the pass, some spending the time in gymnastic exercises, and others combing their long hair. It was the Spartan custom to dress

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their heads with peculiar care when they were about to hazard their lives. This was a more sensible "sacrament" than the popish mass before battle, or than a bare-headed kneeling to receive a blessing that was not theirs. The long hair of the Nazarites has been mentioned in the reference to Samson. In the present day, artists, actors, musicians, poets and literary men frequently wear long hair, especially those of originality or force of character. There are cases where long hair means conceit or self-advertisement; but usually it is a sign of character. Garibaldi was described in one of his victorious charges, as "erect on horseback, with his hair streaming to the winds. At the sight of the invulnerable man, everyone called to mind the exploits of the immortal ancestors." When defending the Roman Republic he wore a "broad-brimmed hat" over "a forest of hair." In her description of the States General procession of 1789 "Madame" de Stael says, that "Mirabeau's immense black head of hair distinguished him among them all; you would have said his force depended on it like that of Samson;" while Danton, perhaps the greatest of the French Revolution leaders, who told his executioner to show his head to the people after the guillotine had done its work, adding, "It is worth showing," is described by Carlyle as having "a great shaggy head of hair." Praeger speaks of Wagner's "most abundant crop of bushy hair, which he kept carefully brushed back." Carlyle's own hair gave him quite a lion-like appearance. Longfellow, Tennyson, Bjornson, Ibsen, Benjamin Disraeli, Walt Whitman, William Morris, Tolstoy, Ruskin, Beethoven, Byron, are a few amongst many other examples that could be given in modern times; while to single out from the past several stars of the first magnitude, Alexander, Ossian, Arthur, Charlemagne, Alfred; Abraham, Moses, David, Elijah, John the Baptist, Jesus of Nazareth. The popes and priests in the Middle Ages tried to make out that long hair was "effeminate," fostered "pride," and was inconsistent with the profession of persons who "bore the cross." In this manner, by preaching a false humility, they managed to prevent people from bearing the cross effectually. Again in later times a levelling-down doctrine got hold of a section of the Puritans, whose going to the other extreme from the Cavaliers' long hair gained for the party with which they were connected the nickname "Roundheads." While there was some ground for a protest against the enormous bushes of hair upon which idle, dissolute Royalists prided themselves, there is a wise moderation in all things; and the leaders of the English Revolution, judging from the portraits of John Hampden, John Milton, Oliver Cromwell, and others, did not go to the opposite extreme of a jail-crop, but wore what would now be considered long hair. In the "English Nation" by Cun-

ningham, is a portrait of Oliver Cromwell (the first in Vol. I, as being the first of Englishmen). He has long hair, which hangs down behind his shoulders, and harmonises well with his massive features and expression of power and benevolence. Strafford, in the same book, however, who began his career as a Parliamentarian, but soon found his place as chief watch-dog of the manager, has short hair. George Fox refused to cut his hair short, or to allow it to be cut for him, and even in prison did not have to undergo such an indignity. He preferred to suffer accusations of being a Royalist, rather than conform to the narrow, levelling-down customs of many of the Puritans. He saw, as did Cromwell, and others of the fighters for freedom to do right, that aristocracy was not to be snuffed out, but renewed; that what was wanted was not levelling down, but development. It is not only a curious fact, but a very significant one, that after the Restoration, when long hair again came into fashion, it soon became the correct thing to substitute for a man's own hair an enormous wig of alien growth. By this means a new kind of levelling down was accomplished, which combined the vices of vanity and falsity with those of artificiality. Later, these wigs had to be powdered—so senseless fashion decreed. John Wesley was much blamed, because he would neither wear a wig nor cut his hair short; and the Quakers, who at first suffered for refusing to close-crop their own hair, were afterwards reviled for an equally determined refusal to don the regulation wig. It appears that the judge's wig arose out of this Restoration custom of wearing enormous bushes of artificial hair, it having been previously the practice of judges to wear coifs or linen caps. The cap, however, seems to have been swallowed up in the wig; a process not unlike that by which the English law has been swallowed up in the technicalities of its procedure and the unwieldy accumulation of its precedents.

The present idea of hat-doffing is much the same as that of the tonsure and hair-cropping—*levelling down*. Neither of them is a sign of respect to superiors; but both are signs of disrespect to oneself, and are merely performed in obedience to the constituted powers. Until recently they were avowedly and successfully imposed by and in the name of religious authority. Now, however, this religious authority having lost its former undisputed sway, these constituted powers are driven more and more to their ultimate refuge, that of mere custom. Hence the necessity of appealing at so great length in these pages to the higher courts of common sense, self respect, and history.

The levelling-down doctrine of so much of what nowadays goes under the label of Protestantism, is shown in some of the

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methods adopted by what is called the Low Church party to combat priestcraft and ritualism. In order to exclude the bishop's mitre, the cardinal's hat and the pope's tiara, without going to the trouble of finding out what it is about these things that is objectionable, the Low Church party lay stress on the canon rule that no "male" shall wear a head-covering of any kind, unless it be for physical safety or comfort, in which case the said "male" is allowed, after obediently removing his own proper head gear from its place, to substitute for it "a coif or a night-cap." These so-called Protestants are usually ready enough to decry levelling down, when it is a matter of equalising the distribution of money, or of "the good things of this life." But they show no compunction in the matter of levelling down, what with their lips they profess to be of so much greater importance, the things of the kingdom of heaven. Besides which, it is idle to suppose that these lifeless, boneless methods of resisting priestcraft can in the long run be successful. Priestcraft is a many-headed monster, difficult to overcome, and capable of assuming a great variety of disguises; and mankind will prefer what is attractive to what is dull, what has if it be but an appearance of life to dullness and deadness unalloyed. It is therefore not only an evil method of resisting a supposed greater evil, but a method which is incapable of effectually resisting it. As Jesus expressed it in a parable, if a devil be expelled only to leave a vacancy, that vacancy will invite a sevenfold rush of devilry. Good alone is capable of effectually driving out and overcoming evil.

It is now becoming the fashion to plead that hat-doffing is nothing but a custom: "There's nothing in it, you know; it's only the custom; and you wouldn't hurt people's feelings by not observing their customs, would you? It's only a customary form of politeness." This is stupid talk, and still stupider observance of custom. A remarkable illustration of the stupidity and emptiness of modern hat-doffing occurs in Captain Stothert's account of the British campaigns in Spain and Portugal in 1809, 10 and 11, where, after stating that in the streets of Lisbon when the "host" is carried by, the people fall on their knees and cross themselves till it has passed, he adds: "The several town guards are turned out and present arms, and the officers and soldiers of the British army halt and take off their hats, in conformity with the orders issued to that effect." Here, while the people say by kneeling and crossing themselves, "We believe in our religion," and the Spanish soldiers present arms, which is equivalent to saying, "We'll fight for our religion," the English soldiers stupidly and hypocritically uncover their heads to what they and their government profess to disagree with and to protest against (their own government not even allowing Catholics a

vote at the time)—unmanning themselves for mere customary politeness' sake. A striking picture of the fruits of this kind of politeness combined with the kind of religion which upholds it, is given by Isabel Burton, the brave and devoted wife of the great traveller, and an English Roman Catholic of the best type, in her description of Portuguese, Jesuit Goa. It will be noticed how, apparently without knowing it, she condemns, while wishing to praise, both the "saint" and the "true gentleman" in that much deluded but heroic man, Francis Xavier. She says (Richard Burton's *Life*, Vol. II, p. 107):—"Of all the God-forgotten, deserted holes, a thousand years behind the rest of the creation, I have never seen anything to equal Goa....A great sign of respectability is the top hat. The poorest man who considers himself a Portuguese twenty times removed, will wear a seedy patched black coat and a black tile in a cocoanut-forest-hut to distinguish himself from the natives, as a mark of respectability. The shabby demi-semi-civilization, the enervating climate, the poverty, the utter uninterestedness of everything, bears the curse of the Inquisition. They bear, however, one mark of St. Francis Xavier's teaching, who was a true gentleman (Hidalgo), besides being a saint. He preached courteousness, and the manners of the lower orders are excellent. The merest beggar has the manners of a gentleman; the poor all doff their caps as you pass, and seem formed to exchange civilities with Europeans. Richard found them just as he left them thirty years ago, the women scolding, making a noise almost like pig-killing, the children whining and crying as if they were perpetually teething, the animals starved and ill-treated."

The principal and most urgently pressed portion of this "polite" bare-headedness, is hat-doffing to women, or rather to those women whom custom allows and expects you to call "ladies." Why men should uncrown and degrade themselves in the presence of women does not appear, especially as women are allowed to extend the height and circumference of their own head-gear to a quite astonishing degree. There has recently been considerable stir caused in Paris by a man wearing his hat in one of the theatres, and refusing to remove it while the women were allowed to wear hats of so much greater circumference. He was forcibly ejected, on the pretence that he was impeding other people's view; women's hats being apparently supposed to be transparent. It is curious that while today female head-gear aims chiefly at circumference, a hundred years ago the emulation was for altitude. In 1775 the following complaint appeared in a Paris paper:—"The head-dress of our women becomes higher and higher, and what was looked upon some months ago as ridiculously high is now no longer high, even for the bourgeois. Women

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of quality wear plumes two or three feet tall, and the Queen has set the example." Yet then, as now, men, not to say gentlemen, were expected to bare their heads before these privileged and overcrowned personages. Anyhow, while women's hats are considered inoffensive, men with their more modest head-gear need pay little attention to the charge of obstructing the view.

There is more in this doffing of hats to women than a mere "customary form of politeness." Consider how it would be if women as well as men had to doff hats in steeplehouses; or if men, instead of wearing diminutive caps and bowlers and doffing them on the parade to their female acquaintance, wore hats with an adequate brim and a proportionate crown, and retained them on their heads before all comers. How has it come about that etiquette requires men to degrade themselves out of "politeness" to "ladies," while women exhaust the resources of the sartorial and decorative arts to add authority and importance to their persons? Since the Restoration and what Carlyle calls the "Nell Gwyn Defender of the Faith," things have been moving in this direction. It would seem that at that date England joined in with the prevalent trend of things at the time in France, and entered upon the age of mistresses. Manhood had been found to be too serious, stern and severe a course to follow, the rotten lumber of the past having been allowed to accumulate to such an extent that most men fought shy of the task of clearing it away and building once more truly upon honest principles. It was found more convenient, and more agreeable for the time being, to "let things be as they were, and not think too seriously about them." Man having thus cast away his responsibilities and betrayed his trust, "Society" must be held together "by some means." Religion was again invoked to "keep things together somehow," and, being faithless, had only custom to fall back upon. Women are naturally more religious and more conservative than men. Woman was therefore entrusted with the preservation of "Society" and the government of the world. Raising the hat to women, or rather to "ladies" or "society" women, is an acknowledgment of the present arrangement of the world, by which mere custom rules through the instrumentality of religion and its adjuncts. If you meet a man (a friend of yours) and his wife or a female companion, he is not allowed by etiquette to recognise you, unless you show your "respectability" by doffing your hat in deference to the fact of his being for the time under the sway of the woman (representing "Society"). Meanwhile he doffs his hat also, to signify the same fact, and also to convey to you the condescending favour of his companion's acknowledgment of your "respectability." Thus both men put themselves for the time being in the position of slaves, in which position alone does "respecta-

bility" allow the woman to recognise either. A refusal to observe these conventions, which are said, like the religious hat-doffing in steeplehouses, to be "only trifles" and a "customary form of politeness," involves in the case of either man or woman outlawry from what is called "society." The result of this arrangement, or device to escape from the trouble of putting wrong things to rights, by keeping them as they are whether right or wrong "because it's the custom," is that we have in our Western civilization at the present time a very curious state of things. On the one hand, men trying to keep women down, for fear of losing them as toys; on the other hand, women trying to keep men down, for fear of losing them as slaves. Woman rules, and at the same time complains of man for keeping her *down*. Women have themselves to blame for such disgraceful proceedings as occurred recently at Cambridge on the part of the undergraduates; for women, under an erroneous notion of duty, combined with a natural instinct of self-preservation and a fear of losing power, forbid men to be men, and insist upon their remaining mere male bipeds with a "sense of propriety." And men are to blame, because they prefer to be slaves to their own toys rather than take the trouble to be free. Woman keeps man down, and man keeps woman down, for fear; and the custom of men doffing their hats to women is the outward and visible sign of this inward and spiritual disgrace.

It has already been stated that hat-doffing levels *down*. It should, however, be explained that there is one class of distinctions that it does not level either up or down; but, on the contrary, steadily widens in both directions. This is the class of distinctions known as money distinctions. Hat-doffing upholds mere money rule and relationship, and widens money distinctions, by the very fact of its levelling *down* all other distinctions. It keeps what is superior to money *down*; and hence levels down all distinctions *but* money distinctions. The first Quakers, being men of common sense and discernment, and practical, way-faring men to boot, were well aware of this fact. In the memorable trial of Penn and Mead, when the Recorder ironically took off his hat to Mead in court, saying, "I thank you, sir, for teaching me what is law," the former Cromwellian soldier and then indomitable but good-humoured Quaker replied: "Thou mayst put on thy hat: *I* have no fee to give thee."

Men of character occupying high positions are rather gratified than otherwise to come in contact with those who are superior to this sort of toadyism; and are willing to overlook what would otherwise be considered a breach of social decorum, when they see it to be due to such superiority of mind. Michelangelo, when charged with disregard of etiquette, excused himself on account

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of the all-absorbing claims of his work upon his thoughts, and stated that more than once without knowing he had kept his hat on his head during an interview with Pope Julius II, that titanic old man of the world taking no notice of this neglect, apparently rather respecting him for it than otherwise. A characteristic story is also told of Henry VIII, when Colet, summoned to his presence after his bold denunciation of Henry's war with France, and fully expecting either death or disgrace, his enemies the bishops and monks having been very busy with the king against him, was greeted with the words, "Put on your cap, Master Dean."

Denham, the African traveller, tells of an Arab Sheikh in West Africa receiving the submission of a rebellious negro chief. The subdued chief was approaching his conqueror in the usual slavish fashion, crawling on the ground and throwing sand on his head. This, however, the Sheikh forbade him to do. Still the African approached with uncovered head and poor habiliments, expecting to hear the order for his execution. What must have been his surprise when the Sheikh ordered him to be clothed with eight handsome shirts and his head made as large as six with turbans from Egypt. It is evident that this Arab wanted the chief's submission, not his degradation; and by this treatment caused him to feel honoured and raised by his submission, instead of lowered. From the above incident, and from other sources also, it appears that uncovering the head is a sign of submission and humiliation in parts of Africa. It was also found by Captain Cook to be practiced by the Polynesians. In Tahiti, he and his companions were expected to remove their hats on approaching the *morai* or temple. Here also it was the custom to show respect to superiors, by not only removing the head dress, but undressing down to the middle; while the way of singling out a man for a special friend was to take off part of your own clothing and put it on him. These instances clearly point to one of the principal ideas of dress being a mark of honour or dignity, for its removal here signifies dishonour or humiliation, while placing it on another signifies honour conferred. From this it follows that the removal of the head dress is associated with ideas of dishonour to the head. There must be some reason why "charity"-school boys have to go about bare-headed. In Japan it used to be or is the custom to take off one's *coat* in court; while before the Revolution of 1868 in that country, if the head-dress was not removed in deference to the military caste, when encountering them in the street, the neglect was taken for a sign of rebellion and the offender's head was instantly severed from his body. Besides the natural idea of dishonour associated with undressing in public, there is another point of considerable

importance which must not be overlooked ; and in this connection it is not without its significance that a naturally quick-witted people like the Japanese should be kept in subjection by similar methods to those employed upon the high-spirited races of Europe. If people have to doff their hats or hold them in their hands, their attention is necessarily much occupied with doing this elegantly and correctly, and the mind is distracted from things of more serious moment. An apparently trifling performance like that of hat-doffing, as practiced throughout Europe, is quite sufficient in itself to disconcert a person and preoccupy a large amount of mental energy. Consequently it gives those who exact it an advantage, which they are not slow to utilise. Especially is this the case with hat-doffing in the presence of religion. The incomprehensible is "believed in," and the nonsensical goes unchallenged, because the field of vision is covered by an act of self-abasement.

It is not surprising that the priests of the anti-Christian system of religion calling itself "Christianity" should hit upon the undressing of the head, or dishonouring of the citadel of reason, as the sign of acknowledgment of their power and authority ; for Jesus himself was rejected and crucified by the Jews of his time for claiming the free exercise of conscience and intelligence. Hat-doffing may appear to be a small act, but it is a most significant one, showing on every separate occasion the irrational self-abasement required by this anti-Christian system. It cannot have escaped the notice of the observant, how subservient and feeble people look sitting bare-headed while wearing overcoats on a cold winter's day, and doubly so standing holding their hats in their hands. There is yet another thought that may have struck the observant, how expressive hat-doffing is of fear, which by-the-bye is the mainspring of the custom. In caricatures of sudden fright, in *Punch* and elsewhere, it is usual to depict the hat falling off and the hair standing on end. Things have indeed come to such a pass, that it is not surprising to find people singing in chorus, "Cover my defenceless head."

The Roman Catholics have been a deep, designing set of people with regard to this matter of bare-headedness ; else how has it come to pass that the common prints and pictures of Jesus represent him bare-headed, as meek as milk, and riding on the mildest of asses ?

Space does not admit of an examination at length into the numerous illustrations from history of hat-doffing and hat-wearing. The story of Wilhelm Tell and the struggle of the Swiss for freedom is the story of a hat ; for the sign of their degradation was their being commanded to uncover and bow to the ducal hat of Austria on a pole ; and the Swiss nation dates

from the day when Tell refused to obey this command. A picture in one of the numbers of the *Graphic* represents the Sheriffs of Ghent retaining their hats before their sovereign Mary of Burgundy, prior to the heroic struggle of the Netherlanders for freedom. The first act of the opening of the French States General in 1789 was a hat contest. The king and nobility having put on their hats, the commons simultaneously and ominously placed theirs also on their heads; whereupon the king in alarm took his hat off again. Protestant illustrated books on the Reformation that are really against Popery, have generally got a picture of somebody with his hat on in a steeplehouse. The frontispiece of a book for young people, the "Lights and Shadows of the Reformation," represents a scene in an English steeplehouse where the king's representative stands erect with his hat on, giving orders for the removal of the altar and other popish paraphernalia. Several of the workmen engaged in the operations are also depicted with their hats on. For some time after the Reformation, preachers wore caps in the pulpit, not mitres but caps. John Knox is depicted preaching with a tam-o-shanter shaped cap on. The Dutch wore, and some of them still wear their hats in the steeplehouses; and the Boers of the Transvaal, with their French Huguenot and Dutch Protestant descent and tradition, wear their hats in the presence of their President. Edwards's *Gangræna* tells how the Puritans in England often wore their hats in steeplehouses during the singing of psalms, and after having them pulled off put them on again. Cromwell wore his hat in Ely Cathedral, when he entered with the authority of Parliament to "dismiss this assembly." (Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, Vol. I, p. 159.)

The first Quakers' hat wearing has already been referred to more than once in these pages. What George Fox had to suffer at Launceston and elsewhere on that account has been narrated in this volume, and Penn and Mead's trial noticed at the commencement of Vol. I. Richard Davies, who has been called "the Quaker Apostle of Wales," an account of whose life is published in a small volume \* (the early editions of which—to show the esteem it is still held in—fetch considerable sums in the book world), gives a graphic description of the salutary effects of various kinds produced by the assertion of manhood in Quaker hat wearing. "I was now first called a Quaker," says he, "because I said to a single person *thee* and *thou*, and kept on my hat, and did not go after the customs and fashions of the world that other professors lived and walked in." The following is a brief summary

\* An account of the conviction, exercises, services, and travels of that ancient servant of the Lord, Richard Davies, with some relation of ancient Friends, and the spreading of Truth in North Wales, &c.

of the chief points contained in the narrative:—

Friends' hat-wearing, whereby they placed themselves on a level with the highest in the land, was most furiously resisted—not by the highest, who had the sword of Damocles hanging over them and realised some of the responsibilities of their position—but by the lowest in the land. The reason for this was that the lowest in the land imagined that the highest in the land existed only to *give them* "bread and theatres;" and they reckoned that Friends had no business to put themselves on an equality with the highest in the land unless they were prepared to *give them* "bread and theatres" too. But Friends were neither prepared, nor even so much as willing to minister to their selfish gratifications. On the contrary they showed them how to work for their bread, and how to act in the theatre of the world.

Friends' influence in the nation seems to have been appreciated by the nobility of the land from the first. So also by the kings and rulers of England. Naturally enough these responsible individuals did not like Friends keeping on their hats before them; but, when they found what sterling men they had to deal with, men who did not place themselves on a level with the highest in the land in order to secure their gratifications or immunities, and that Quakers were as responsible individuals as themselves, or more so, they let the matter pass. They did not, however, allow other people, who had no such sense of responsibility, to keep on their hats before them; which was sensible.

Friends grew very skilful in the law. This was due partly to their high moral appreciation of the distinction between right and wrong; and partly to the opposition raised against them, which made them as sharp as needles in finding things out. Their practical knowledge of the law not only enabled them to outwit the lawyers, but to bring the law itself to light before the world, disentangled from the perversions of custom accumulated in past ages.

Friends were most bitterly opposed by two classes—the religious, and the commercial, with their hangers-on. The priests and their adherents were generally hostile. A few of them, being convinced of the honesty of their intentions, were secretly favourable to Friends. Others—"peevish" priests, who tried meddling with them, generally succeeded only in burning their own fingers. The commercial people (like the religious) were afraid lest Friends, with their principles of integrity and upright dealing, should take away their trade. Enormous fines were levied upon Friends for not acting like other people; and it was arranged that a third of the gross proceeds should go to "the informer." This was publicly offering everyone a bribe to inform against Friends. Another method was adopted, called *præmunire*, whereby

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Friends who would not be squashed by repeated fines, were sentenced to perpetual banishment and their property confiscated. But on account of the respect in which Friends were held by the nobility of the land, who were themselves many of them neither religious nor commercial, the sentence of *præmunire* was never carried out effectually. This state of things in the religious and commercial world induced quite a number of otherwise decent sort of people to turn informers, including priests, small gentry, several Justices of the Peace, and a host of petty officials. For the first few years the informers did a great trade, and were very zealous about it. They might perhaps have got enormously rich, but that their neighbours of all persuasions grew to despise them so utterly, that they generally came to grief in a little time. Their wives and families were reduced to absolute want, and, when they went begging, the neighbours would not give them anything. But for Friends helping them, they would have perished with hunger.

Friends rose to make a stand against falsehood, and to proclaim the truth about things. In consequence of this, their bare word came in a little time to be so respected, that if one known to be a Quaker merely passed his word, even against himself seemingly (as in agreeing to go to prison), it was accepted by all classes, including even the officers of the law, almost as if it were an accomplished fact. Their word was held so inviolable, that frequently, if a Quaker had particular business requiring his attention at a distance, the jailer or Justice of the Peace freely let him go and do his business, on the bare understanding that if it were within his power he would be back in prison again by an appointed time. In striking contrast with this confidence placed in them by the authorities, was the singular behaviour towards them of the vulgar of all classes, who, set on by the envious priests and tradesmen, regarded them as a sort of strange wild animals, or curious creatures that were bewitched, demented or turned lunatic, and not fit to live. This strange opinion grew to such a head in some places, that sometimes individuals and sometimes the mob have determined on killing the Quakers outright. But such disgraceful proceedings did not meet with the approval of the better informed, who began to think that Quakers must be an intelligent and upright people, considering by whom they were maltreated. So that, after all, what they lost by the hatred of the vulgar and unprincipled, they gained by the esteem of the refined and intelligent.

Passages that occur in *Richard Davies*, like the following, are no mere cant phrases, as they may seem to be on our first reading them :—“So good is the Lord, and good is his Word, and worthy is he to be praised by all that know him, from hence-

forth and for ever." This is not the language one would select whereby to express one's thankfulness at the present day; but it is infinitely preferable to the senseless words used in the doxology, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be world without end, amen," which tens of thousands of people repeat numbers of times in a day like so many parrots, and without really feeling thankful a bit, having, indeed, nothing particular to be thankful for. These words of Richard Davies do at least convey some meaning, he being under sentence of *præmunire* for seven years and accounted a prisoner, yet going about the country pretty much where he pleased during that time. It is because we have so little to be thankful about in these days, that passages like the one quoted seem to us such wearisome reading. It should be recollected that they were written in trying times, when persecution of one kind or another was pretty general. Even in persecution, however, it is not wise to indulge too freely in ebullitions of this character. It is like saying "Hip, hip, hurrah!" at every turn, which would soon become cant, if you were not very careful. A modern writer that did this, and had little or nothing to hurrah about, would be very tedious.

Two quotations must here suffice as examples of Richard Davies' experience related in his own words. The first refers to a visit to some Justices who had sent for him to appear before them:—

"When I was come into the room, the High Sheriff, Colonel Mostyn and the Justices stood as people in amaze, to see me come with my hat on my head amongst them, and spoke not one word to me for some time. In a little while I asked them whether they sent for me there. They said, they did.... One of the Justices said, 'I think the man is mad. I think we must have him whipt.' After further conversation, the High Sheriff, a very fair man, told me, I was 'a strange man, and of a strange persuasion,' to come with my hat upon my head among them, and would not take the oaths, nor give bail.... 'You know,' said he, that Paul said to Festus, 'Noble Festus.'" I told him, that Paul had tried Festus, but I had not as yet tried him; and it might be, that I might speak of him, 'Noble Sheriff.' As I was going out of the room, I told them, that I brought a good hat on my head there, but was going away without it, for some of the baser sort had conveyed it away; but the Justices made diligent search about it, so it was brought me again, and put upon my head, and they parted with me very friendly."

Richard Davies with other Friends was brought up before a Justice in his own town of Welshpool, who, he says, "proposed to us, that if we would go to Church, and hear 'divine service,'

as they called it, we should be discharged. I told him, 'When I was last there, they turned me out of their Church, and it may be they would do the like by me again.' Justice Corbet said, he would engage I should not be turned out. Then I said, 'It's most likely I shall come.' The Justice seemed satisfied; but one of the bailiffs said, 'Mr. Corbet, do you think that the old Quaker will come to Church, except it be to disturb our Minister?' I told him, if I should have anything to speak to the people, I hoped they would not impose upon me to hold my peace. He said, 'God forbid they should do so.' So I told him I hoped to keep my promise. When Firstday came, and the bells began to ring, two Friends, Thomas Lloyd and Samuel Lloyd, came and said, 'We think we must go with thee to the Steeplehouse.' When the people went to the steeplehouse, I took my Bible under my arm, and went to Justice Corbet's house to let him see I was going. I asked him, whether he was coming. He said he was not disposed to come that day, but he would send his man to see that we should not be affronted. So the two Friends and I went to my own pew, that was opposite the pulpit. There was but the curate to read the Common Prayer and their 'Service' to them that morning. There was a great crowd of people, some said there were some that had not been at their church several years before. When the curate had done I stood up, and told the people of the magistrates' agreement to discharge us if we would come to church. Saying further, 'And now you see we are come, according to their desire. But I find that your priest is not here; and I would have you to inform him that we ask him the following questions'...All the people were very civil and orderly, and heard me a considerable while in the steeplehouse. When I had done, Thomas Lloyd spoke a few seasonable words to the people. In the evening we went again; the priest was there himself, and made a long sermon, till we were all uneasy; but I desired the Friends to bear all things patiently. When the priest had done, he was going away; and I stepped up in my seat and desired him to stay, 'for I had something to say to him.' When he had heard my queries, and what I had to say, he turned his back and went away, and gave us no answer. Then I said, 'See, the hireling flees, because he is a hireling.' Some of the people stayed, and some went with him, but all were dissatisfied that he would not prove them to be the true 'church of Christ.' When we came home, Justice Corbet said he was sorry 'Mr. Langford was so uncivil, that he did not answer our questions, which he thought 'was very unreasonable.' This Justice was very friendly to us, and did all he could for us after this. As for this priest, William Langford, many Friends went to his steeplehouse in time of his 'service' to tell them the truth; and when the

magistrates have committed some of them to prison on that account, when their 'service' was over this priest has got them to be released."

The first Quakers frequently suffered for wearing their hats in the steeplehouses. A number of instances are recorded in Besse's *Sufferings* of their having been imprisoned solely for this. Several cases may be mentioned as examples. In 1657, Benjamin Maynard was imprisoned for standing with his hat on in Launceston steeplehouse. In the same year, John Ellis was imprisoned twenty weeks for wearing his hat in a steeplehouse in Cornwall. At Carlisle in 1655, Matthew Carp and Anthony Fell were imprisoned three weeks for hat-wearing in a steeplehouse in Cumberland.

In "The Life of John Roberts (a Gloucestershire farmer of the time of Charles II) by his son Daniel Roberts," a short narrative full of instruction, good sense and humour, it is related how "a necessity was laid upon him, one First-day morning, to go to the public worship-house in Cirencester in the time of worship, not knowing what might be required of him there. He went; and, standing with his hat on, the priest was silent for some time; but being asked why he did not go on, he answered, he could not, while that man stood with his hat on. Upon this, some took him by the arm, and led him into the street, staying at the door to keep him out: but, after waiting a little in stillness, he found himself clear, and passed away. As he passed the Market-place, the tie of his shoe slackened; and, while he stooped down to fasten it, a man came behind him, and struck him on the back a hard blow with a stone, saying 'There; take that for Jesus Christ's sake.' He answered, 'So I do,' not looking back to see who it was, but quietly going his way. A few days after, a man came and asked him forgiveness; telling him he was the unhappy man that gave him the blow on his back, and he could have no rest since he had done it. Not long after, three Friends came that way, who found the like concern, namely, Robert Silvester, Philip Grey, and Thomas Onyon. These standing in the Steeplehouse with their hats on, though they said nothing, the priest was silent: and being asked if he was not well, he answered, he could not go forward while those dumb dogs stood there. Whereupon the people dragged them out: and the priest afterwards informing a justice that they interrupted him in Divine service, they were bound over to the Quarter Sessions. My father, at their desire, accompanied them to the Sessions: and, when they were called, and the priest had accused them, the Bench, in a rage, without asking them any questions, ordered their mittimus to be made. This unjust and illegal proceeding kindled my father's zeal; insomuch that he, stepping forward, called to the Justices,

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saying, 'Are not those who sit on the Bench sworn to do justice? Is there not a man among you that will do the thing that is right?' Whereupon John Stephens, of Lyppiatt (then Chairman) cried out, 'Who are you, Sirrah? What is your name?' My father telling him his name, he said, 'I am glad I have you here: I have heard of you: you deserve a stone doublet. There's many an honest man than you hanged.' 'It may be so,' answered my father; 'but what dost thou think becomes of those that hang honest men?' The Justice replied, 'I'll send you to prison; and if any insurrection or tumult be in the land, I'll come and cut your throat first with my own sword; for I fear to sleep in my bed, lest such fanatics should come and cut my throat:' and, snatching up a ball of wax, he violently threw it at my father, who avoided the blow by stepping aside. Their mittimuses were then made, and they were all sent to prison."

It will be also well to quote from the above-mentioned narrative part of what passed in the bishop's court at Gloucester, to which John Roberts was summoned for non-attendance at the steeplehouse. After a dialogue between him and the bishop, in which his pertinent replies and ready wit quickly won the respect and confidence of his questioner, the Apparitor put in, "'It is expected you should show more respect than you do in this place, in keeping on your hat.' J. Roberts: 'Who expects it?' Apparitor: 'My Lord Bishop.' J. Roberts: 'I expect better things from him.' Bishop: 'No, no; keep on your hat; I don't expect it from you. ...Call somebody else.' Then a Baptist preacher was called; who, seeing the Bishop's civility to my father, in suffering him to keep on his hat, thought to take the same liberty. At whom the Bishop put on a stern countenance, and said, 'Don't you know this is the King's Court, and that I sit here to represent his Majesty's person? And do you come here in an uncivil and irreverent manner, in contempt of his Majesty and this Court, with your hat on? I confess there are some men in the world who make a conscience of putting off their hats, to whom we ought to have some regard. But for you, who can put it off to every mechanic you meet, to come here, in contempt of authority, with it on, I'll assure you, friend, you shall speed never the better for it.' I heard my father say, these words came so honestly from the Bishop, that it did him good to hear him.—The Baptist then taking off his hat, said, 'An't please you, my Lord, I ha'n't been well in my head.'"

A number of Friends died in prison from the hardships they endured, one of the principal causes of these imprisonments being their refusal to remove their hats when ordered to do so. They suffered dreadfully for several years in New England—heavy fines, cruel whippings, cutting off ears, and boring their tongues. At last

a law was passed by a majority of one only, one of the law-makers friendly to the Quakers being absent through illness and never expecting his fellows would proceed to such extreme cruelty. The statute ran as follows:—"Whereas there is a pernicious sect (commonly called Quakers) lately risen...who do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches by denying all established forms of worship. Notwithstanding all former laws, made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions to disseminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this jurisdiction, they have not been detained from their impetuous attempts. For precaution thereof, this court doth order and enact that every person of the cursed sect of Quakers shall be banished upon pain of death." Several Quakers were hanged under this sanguinary act. One of these was William Robinson from London, who, at his execution, when priest Wilson tauntingly ejaculated, "Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?" said, "Mind you, mind you, I suffer for not putting off my hat." Edward Burrough visited Charles II and got a mandamus to repeal this bloody statute. Samuel Shattock, one of the Quakers who had been banished, was appointed king's deputy to carry it to Governor Endicot. Arrived at Boston, this Quaker, who had been banished upon pain of death as one who would not doff his hat, proceeded to the governor's house. When the governor came to him, he commanded Shattock's hat to be taken off; but, having received the deputation and mandamus, he laid off his own hat, and ordered Shattock's hat to be returned to him. He then promised to obey the king's order.

That the Quakers did not mean disrespect by their hat-wearing is shown by William Penn and Thomas Ellwood both insisting upon wearing their hats in their fathers' parlours, signifying thereby that their manhood was not to be snuffed out even by their parents and under the parental roof. At that time custom did not forbid the wearing of hats in private houses; but was very strict against young men wearing them in their fathers' presence. William Penn's father offered to receive his son again under his roof after he had expelled him for his Quaker convictions, on condition that he would remove his hat in his own presence, and in the presence of the King and the Duke of York. But he remained firm. He could not conscientiously give way on this point. Admiral Penn lived to tell his son, that if the Quakers went on as they had started they would "make an end of priests to the end of the world."

Charles II, at one time, in private converse with a Quaker,

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being unable to persuade him to remove his hat, took his own hat off, saying that two could not wear their hats. By this he evidently meant to imply that wearing one's hat in the presence of others was a mark of superiority and dominance over them. It is just here that the Quaker idea comes in, and says that kingship, or rather out-and-out manhood is not limited to one person, or even to a few; that there is an authority higher than brute force, where selfish exclusiveness, jealousy, pride and cruelty have no place. Popes and kings and their representatives have made a point of wearing crowns and hats, to claim and assert their authority over others. The Judges of the court that tried and sentenced Charles I, wore their hats before the royal prisoner, to claim and assert their authority, as representing the nation, to judge and condemn him. Charles also wore his hat before his judges, to assert his royal position and "Divine Right" claims; but not to assert his manhood. The Quakers' hat-wearing, however, claimed no authority over others, only the freedom under God of their own individual manhood. And this they did without being Anarchists, or showing disrespect to just authority. It is a striking evidence of the wide spread and deeply impressed respect for the Quakers' hat-wearing and what it was understood to represent, that the French Revolution Convention, while passing a rule that its members should sit uncovered, made an exception for Quakers.

Perhaps the most plausible argument for hat-doffing is that based upon the limitations of our own knowledge and power in the presence of God and of his wonderful works around us. A good illustration of this may be found in George Eliot's *Romola*. Florence was undergoing siege and on the verge of famine; Savonarola had prophesied relief at the last moment if the city stood firm; and all were awaiting anxiously the fulfilment or otherwise of his prophecy. Suddenly news came of the arrival of some ships at Leghorn laden with stores, in spite of adverse winds, by what seemed like a miracle. "For some minutes there was no attempt to speak further: the Signoria themselves lifted up their caps [It is stated elsewhere in *Romola* that Florentines thought hat-doffing to women rather unmanly, so it was not a common practice.], and stood bare-headed in the presence of a rescue which had come from outside the limit of their own power—from that region of trust and resignation which has been in all ages called divine." On such an occasion certainly one can hardly call such an act degrading; but, for all that, it should be noted that it implied ignorance, impotence, awe, and little rather than much faith; it would not have rightly expressed the feeling of Savonarola himself, whose faith had foreseen that God would defend his own. The man who knows the voice of God within him, is not astonished

to see his doings elsewhere.

It is a well known fact that Samuel Johnson used invariably to doff his hat on passing a steeplehouse. This was doubtless with him partly done out of reverence for God ; but it is a mistake to suppose that this habit of his is an argument for the custom of hat-doffing. On the same ground, Savonarola would be an argument for monkery, Columbus for papal authority, and Thomas More for the torture. Johnson's taking off his hat in the presence of religion was much akin to his great dread of death. Both represented fear of the unknown combined with a strong sense of his own shortcomings, in no way inconsistent with a great mind and a brave and honest heart, but things to be overcome rather than given way to.

There is one argument from the Bible frequently raised against the Hat Crusade, namely that statement of Paul, in I Corinthians, xi, that "every man praying or prophesying having his head covered dishonoureth his head." It should be noted that there is here no mention of hats, and that the principal point of Paul's advice is concerned with the women's head-covering, which included a veil. The Greek word here used both as regards men's and women's head-covering, means, to "cover up," or "veil." Paul evidently considered it advisable that the Christian women of that day should not break through the custom of being veiled in public. The portion of his advice referring to men, depends for its meaning largely on the kind of head-covering to which he referred. He says, "For man indeed ought not to cover up (Greek) his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God." This would seem to imply that the covering up of the head here called a dishonour was of the nature of a hood or cowl. The priests of ancient Rome were called *flamines* or "the hooded," and this practice is still continued by monks of the Roman Church. Monks' hoods and cowls hide the head, and conceal the man himself. It would seem, then, that Paul's advice to women was, to retain their veil and head covering for modesty's sake when speaking in the church ; while his advice to men was, not to hide their heads from a notion of false humility, or to say what they had to say anonymously, but to give fearless expression to the truth, and to take upon themselves as individuals the responsibility of their public appearance on its behalf. It therefore transpires that, notwithstanding the difference in the circumstances and customs of that day and this, Paul, no less than the Hat Crusaders, was asserting the dignity and manhood of man ; for he gives as his reason why men speaking in the church should not cover up their heads, that man "is the image and glory of God." The rule enforced in the early English Church that monks when preaching should remove their cowls, was evidently based upon

the above advice of Paul; but this idea was soon confused with uncrowning the head in obedience to the priests and in the so-called "honour" of buildings. The Quakers, while otherwise rejecting the hat-doffing customs of their day, made a point of removing the hat when speaking in their meetings, a custom associated in their minds with Paul's advice to the Corinthians. The other portion of his advice could with more ground be urged as favourable to the use by women of what is known as the "Friend's bonnet," which by-the-bye was not introduced till the eighteenth century. The "Fritchley Friends" and some others continue to carefully observe both these customs, men solemnly removing the hat on rising to speak, and women still wearing the bonnet. It will be more evident what sort of *covering up* of the head Paul had in mind in the passage above quoted, as "dishonouring" a man's head, when it is pointed out that in Esther, vi, 12, Haman, after having honoured Mordecai according to the king's command, is said to have "hasted to his house mourning and having his head covered;" while in II Samuel, xv, 30, David, fleeing from Absalom, "went up by the ascent of the Mount of Olives, and wept as he went up; and he had his head covered." This was evidently quite the reverse of wearing his crown. As a man covering up his head implied humiliation, so a woman covering up her head and veiling implied modesty. The veils that women wear now, however, are often worn for the opposite purpose from the Eastern veils, for seductive purposes rather than for modesty. So also the head dress worn by women in so-called "places of worship" when men have to remove theirs, produces the opposite effect from that desired by Paul. Women and girls are a principal means of drawing men into these places, and are decked out (just in the manner Paul in another place reproves) to attract attention to their persons, particularly their faces, and to seduce angels and men. It is mockery, to pervert Paul's advice in favour of modesty into an excuse for this lavish head-adornment, combined with male bareheaded defencelessness.

People in the East believe that God is in man, and therefore consider it a duty to maintain their dignity before all comers. The Chinese consider the cap to be a mark of dignity on the head, and therefore make a point of wearing it in public. When a Chinese youth receives his cap, he is told to drop childishness, and enter on life earnestly. He gets his first cap on attaining his twentieth year, if he is considered to deserve it. A Chinaman looks upon it as a dishonour, not only to himself but to his friend, to approach or salute him bare-headed. A Chinaman in an English court began to cry when he had his hat taken off; and, on being asked what was the matter, he said, "I did not wish to show any disrespect to the court; but you have made me.

In China it would be very disrespectful to the court to take off my hat." Upon this the magistrate had the Chinaman's hat replaced on his head. Li Hung Chang is depicted wearing his cap during an interview with the Queen, and he presents a much more dignified appearance than the Europeans who stand about nervously with their hats in their hands. The same contrast is noticeable between the Eastern delegates at the "Diamond Jubilee" celebrations with their turbans and fezes on, and the bareheaded Westerners. A picture, in the *Graphic*, of the Queen attending "Divine Service" on this occasion, represents her walking up the aisle leaning on the arm of her Hindoo attendant, followed by members of the Royal Family and others. The Munshee is depicted with his turban on his head, those that follow carrying their hats before them in the usual perfunctory manner.

The following cutting from a local newspaper contains a telling proof of the indignity of baring one's head in so-called "honour" of another, as well as a fine example of the influence of character over others:—"King Charles II, paying a visit to Dr. Busby, the doctor is said to have strutted through the room with his hat on, while his Majesty walked complacently behind him, with his hat under his arm. But when he was taking his leave at the door, the doctor thus addressed the King: 'I hope your Majesty will excuse my want of respect hitherto; but if my boys were to imagine there was a greater man in the kingdom than myself, I should never be able to rule them.'"—*Falmouth Packet*; May 9, 1896.

According to Hindoo ideas, an indignity offered to the turban is the same as if offered to the owner of it. The king of Oude, in degrading a rajah, had the rajah's turban brought in before him and defiled by the house-scamenger, the rajah himself being in prison at the time. A similar malignant spirit, but actuated more by weakness and fear than by power, caused the Greeks at Larissa during the recent war, just before the panic and stampede, to snatch the fezes from the heads of the Mahomedans and tear them to pieces.

Reference has already been made to the military retaining their hats before the highest in the land. They also wear their hats in their own courts-martial; and such is the code of honour in the ranks that a soldier is not expected to take an oath, his word being sufficient. Peers of the realm are allowed to wear their hats in court, and are not expected to take an oath.

Gibbon, describing Mahomet's arrival at Medina, says:—"A turban was unfurled before him to supply the deficiency of a standard." Garibaldi, in one of his battles, having fallen from his horse, was reported dead. He, however, quickly mounted again, and waving his hat on a sabre, rallied his men. A disguised

Marseillaise merchant went to Elba and declared that if Napoleon "would but set up his hat on the shores of Provence, it would draw all men towards it." These instances show how natural and how general is the association in men's minds between the hat and the head.

There is also a close connection between hats and crowns. Carlyle said he crowned himself only too sufficiently by putting on his own private hat. Napoleon, crossing the Alps, on reaching the hospice of the Great "St." Bernard and shaking the rain from his covering, said to a young Swiss guide who had come with him from "St." Maurice, "I have spoiled a hat among your mountains; well, I shall find a new one on the other side." On a soldier's bier the hat is placed above the sword, signifying that the sword fought for the hat, and that these are the emblems of victory. In the same manner the sword of the spirit and of truth wins the Christian's crown of victory over sin.

The crown is recognised all over the world as a symbol of kingship, which idea is connected with the ancient practice of crowning or honouring victors. Ruskin has given a title to one of his books, taken from the reward of the victors in the old Grecian games, "The Crown of Wild Olive," a reward consisting of glory and not of gold. The kings of young and high-spirited races are victors, men of courage and ability, men of genius. The crown of kingly authority was originally a crown of virtue and honour, and needed no other sanction. Wisdom is made in the Bible to declare, "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice." Hence, if a king have wisdom, he needs no priest or religion to interpose between him and God, or between him and his people. In this, manhood and kingship are alike. Neither the one nor the other has any business, either to receive its crown from religion, or to surrender it at the priests' command. Not so say the priests however, and popery is persistent in its endeavours to come in between a man and God, and between a king and God. Ever since and even before the time when Charlemagne consented to be crowned Emperor by the Roman papacy, that authority has usurped the place of dominion over kings. It was this usurpation, as well as the more general usurpation of dominion over men's consciences, against which Wyclif protested; and Dante wandered an exile in Italy because he would not acknowledge it. "On the 5th. May, 1213," says D'Aubigne, "John laid his crown at the Legate's feet, declared that he surrendered his kingdom of England to the pope, and made oath to him as his lord paramount." In a pictorial Hume and Smollett is an engraving representing this darkest hour of English history. John is bare-headed and on his knees before the Papal Legate, who sits on a raised throne wearing the newly instituted broad-brimmed

hat over a monk's cowl, thus trying to combine authority with anonymity. An English bishop, wearing a mitre, makes a gesture of disdain with his hand towards the self-degraded king—degraded by his own wickedness. In a "Dialogue between Pope Julius II and Peter at the Gates of Heaven," reputed at the time to be by Erasmus, and acted at Paris in the reign of Louis XII just after Julius' death, he is made to say: "Behold the Roman Bishop placing the crown on the head of the Emperor, who seems to be made king of kings, yet is but the shadow of a name." Charles V, who entered upon his career with such hopeful prospects, did indeed show in his ignominious end the reverse of the qualities of kingship. In the same illustrated Hume and Smollett mentioned above, bishops are depicted wearing their mitres during the coronation of William the Conqueror, but the bishops are not crowning him; an English noble hands him the crown, presumably for him to put upon his own head. The Normans were the only people in Roman Catholic Europe who did not bend to Hildebrand, and the only people he did not crush. He needed their protection; so let them, particularly William the Conqueror, have much of their own way; and with all their violence, they saved Europe from the deeper curse of stagnation. Charles XII of Sweden, the modern Alexander, seems to have been the first in recent times to break through the custom of being crowned by religion. He took the crown from the Archbishop, and placed it on his own head. Napoleon, the modern Cæsar, did the same, putting the symbol of empire on his own head in the presence of that same papal power which had placed the crown of Cæsar on the head of Charlemagne, and which had for ten centuries claimed and exercised the power to crown and discrown emperors and kings. Again, at the downfall of Napoleon III, Bismarck was cute enough and daring enough to claim this same right for the Hohenzollern Emperors, the first of whom crowned himself at Versailles, the Prussian Kaisers, with the tradition of their great Frederick, stopping the gap till something better takes the guidance of affairs.

The peculiar feature about religious head-dress, and that granted by religious authority, is that it claims to be a symbol of dignity and authority, without representing character and individuality. The pope's tiara, cardinal's hat, bishop's mitre, as well as the skull caps and birettas worn by priests, are official badges; and as such do not represent manhood, but the power which keeps manhood down. Carlyle speaks of the "triple-hatted chimera;" and, though the term hat is hardly applicable to the pope's tiara, that article being a high, red cap encircled by three coronets, yet the term conveys the correct idea, namely that this triple symbol of papal authority is worn to usurp the place



of, and not to represent, Godlike manhood. The people of Constantinople therefore judged wisely both as men and as Christians, when they rejected the last of their emperors upon his selling himself to the pope, saying they would rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet the Conqueror than the pope's tiara or the cardinal's hat. Shakespeare, in his *Henry VIII*, brings the cardinal's hat on the scene, not on Campeggio's head, but carried before him as a badge of office, representing much rigmarole, custom, tradition, even religion of a faithless kind, but neither God nor man. Bishops' mitres, it seems, are not the head-dress of Aaron, which was a turban, but that of the Philistine Dagon. It is not therefore surprising that their modern wearers should continue the practice entrusted of old to the Philistine Delilah in order to unman those whose spirit they dread. It is a notable fact that in Russia, where a dominant religion holds sway over and perpetuates ignorance and superstition, in ceremonial functions, which are all religious, the Tzar himself is bareheaded, while the real rulers of Russia, the priests, wear imposing symbols of authority on their heads. Such a scene is depicted in the *Graphic*, representing the laying of the foundation stone of a bridge by the French President Faure during his recent visit to Petersburg. All present, including the Tzar, the nobility and the soldiers, are bare-headed, except the officiating priests who wear massive and bulky bell-shaped mitres.

Space does not admit of any lengthened inquiry into the origin and history of hats, and the use and signification of different varieties of head-gear. Asia is the home of the turban, and also of the fez and the Phrygian cap, the last two representing stiff and pliable caps respectively. The Chinese cap, as worn by Li Hung Chang, is a stiff cap broadened out at the top in such a manner as to add to the dignity of its appearance. Birettas and tam-o-shanters are caps broadened out so as to partake of the brimmed character of the hat; while bishops' mitres are caps greatly extended and adorned so as to overawe the ignorant. Military helmets and their plumes often bear signs of origin from the heads and feathers of animals and birds, and would appear to have represented prowess in hunting and a desire to be conspicuous on the field of battle, besides the main object of the helmet as a defence for the head. Apart from their magnificent military helmets, the Greeks and Romans seem to have worn little on their heads besides their own hair. Fillets of some precious metal, or of leaves and flowers, were worn for ornament and as symbols of victory. On the frieze of the Parthenon at Athens, however, appears the broad-brimmed hat, and it is worn by one of the heroes in the battle with the centaurs. If this be the first appearance of the hat, it may be taken as a good omen, for that series of

reliefs represents the triumph of free mind over gigantic semi-brutehood. Mercury, the messenger of the gods, and Perseus wearing that messenger's winged sandals, are also represented wearing the hat. Its next appearance is at the time of the Crusades, from which time onwards it extended over Europe as the head-dress of nobility and gentry. Pictures of the English House of Commons in the seventeenth century represent the Members all wearing broad-brimmers. The Spanish hidalgos in the time of Columbus wore them; and from 1750 to 1770 two parties existed in Sweden called "Hats" and "Caps," similar to our own Cavaliers and Roundheads a hundred years before. The hatted Franks must have made a lasting impression on the Turks, for it is stated that the Greeks in their War of Independence "found a collection of old European hats a piece of ammunition more effectual than much heavier artillery."

It should be noted that the original hats had both brims and crowns; almost brimless hats, and hats with the crown bashed in, are modern inventions. The Cavalier's hat was a broad-brimmer of a somewhat jaunty appearance, one brim more curled up than the other, and adorned with plumes or bows. The Puritan's hat had a straight and equal brim, but a steeple crown. The Quaker's hat had an equal brim and a substantial crown, and possessed an air of gravity, ballast and proportion. The Quaker's hat with but little variation has made its appearance over and over again in creditable circumstances; and in our own times claims Bismarck, Burton, Garibaldi, Carlyle, Tennyson, Whitman, Wagner, as its wearers. In the Saxon revolutionary meetings of 1848 and 9, in which Wagner took an active part, the men wore their large broad-brimmed hats. After its suppression, these hats were forbidden. In France, it has been said, "the peasants lower heavily upon you from their broad brims." The Switzerlander goes bare headed, but carries his hat about with him, only wearing it when he wants to assert his dignity. At his out-door occupations he does not wear it, but carries it with him for self-defence. The Boers wear hats like Quakers' hats. Charles XII of Sweden wore a wide-awake hat. "Wide-awake" is a much better name for one's hat than "billycock," "bowler," "topper," "stove-pipe," "chimney-pot," or "muller." The cocked hat was the fashion in the last century. What is the meaning of the phrase, "knock you into a cocked hat?" Does it not mean, to knock you in on all sides, and make you fold yourself up? Was the cocked hat an endeavour to escape from responsibility? Whether that was so or not, it is clear enough that the bowler and the chimney-pot are. The brim is cut down and curled up till the hat is more correctly speaking a cap, besides being ridiculous. The chimney-pot hat tries to make up in height what

it lacks in brim, and becomes a fit instrument for asserting that sort of dignity which goes down with the current notions of money "respectability." Daudet, in his *Rois en Exile*, speaks of J. Tom Levis being "Anglais, jusqu'à son chapeau pyramidal aux rebords minuscules." The English clergyman's soft felt hat, like the straw hats now in vogue, while increasing the brim, reduces the crown to insignificance. It should be noted that Roman Catholic priests wear stiff hats with considerable brim and crown, and in Ireland wear "chimney-pots," that shape not being otherwise common in that country. It is not uncommon for people to wear big slouched hats when off for a holiday, that is, when away from responsibility; but, on returning to the sphere of their responsibility, they at once revert to the brimless bowler or the irreproachable chimney-pot. Observe also how these holiday hats are worn, sideways or bashed in, as much as to say, "I'm only wearing this hat for a spree. I'm not in earnest;" by which means they escape the street cries and rough treatment accorded to the man who dares to wear a hat, that is to say a protection for the head with a sufficient brim and a proportionate crown. Many theorists and people who affect free and easy manners or advanced ideas, wear broad-brimmed hats with the crown split or bashed in. This is as much as to say, "I'm only a theorist. Don't suppose I'm in earnest; or any different from anybody else. We're all creatures of circumstances, you know; and can't be expected to do more than be up-to-date with all the latest ideas." The split hat implies absence of will-power; the bowler is really a cap, but implies "respectability," in the sense in which that word is commonly employed at the present time; the chimney-pot implies some will-power, but exercised for trade. The wide hatbands on straw hats, and also on navvies' hats, have a similar object to the plumes and bows on the Cavaliers' hats, namely, to divert attention from the hat itself, and from the head underneath and its responsibilities.

It has been frequently stated by steeplehouse guardians, in order to prevail upon Quakers to remove their hats on entering these buildings, that by wearing them they are "outraging the consciences" of those present. This might be the case if the hat were worn for bravado or out of disrespect for God and what is good. The Hat Crusade, however, is all *for* conscience and the highest kind of freedom, and does not interfere with those who prefer to remove their hats. Walt Whitman stated that he had not taken off his hat to anything "known or unknown;" and Walt Whitman was one of the most reverent of men. The fact is, religion, as it exists at the present day, fosters irreverence to God and what is good, by inculcating disrespect for oneself and for truth, together with a cringing pretence of reverence for "sacred"

fictions. "Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?" says Paul. What does he mean here by committing sacrilege? He must mean that idolatry of any kind, the worship of fictions, the putting of anything else in the place of God, is sacrilege. Hence for a man to demean himself before institutions and customs however ancient, or to uncrown himself at the bidding of his fellow men however powerfully arrayed with the force of earth, is to commit sacrilege against the giver of life and the source of good. "When the enemy comes in like a flood," as he is doing in our day, with disorder, chaos, confusion in the garb of order, with atheism and injustice in the garb of religion, it behoves those in whom the spirit of the Lord speaks, the spirit of order and of a sound mind, to "raise a standard against him." Such are inevitably accused of pride and self-confidence for presuming to act and speak in these unbelieving days in the name of God, and for daring to hold their own convictions more precious than the dictates of convenience and custom. And yet, for this kind of work, though it makes a man the cynosure of all eyes and compels him to stand self-centred against all attacks, a profound humility is the first essential, a willingness to appear anything or nothing and to forget his person in the cause of truth. A great principle is allegorised in the old Greek story of Perseus' magic hat of darkness "which whosoever wears cannot be seen." This does not teach anonymity, nor false modesty, nor shirking of the fight or of responsibility. It means that he who truly fights for manhood, fights for God; and selfish ends must be laid low. The Hat Crusader does not strive to make his own personality bigger and more prominent, but to lose sight of it in his work; so that his work may not be merely his and finish with him, but God's and therefore permanent. Perseus put on the hat of darkness, he overcame the terror, and freed the maiden from the rock.

It is often argued, that as it is common to remove one's hat on entering a private house, so no difficulty need be raised about doing so upon entering a public place of assembly. In reference to this, several points should be noted. 1. The custom of doffing the hat upon entering a private house is traceable to the custom of doffing the hat in religious buildings. To argue for this from that, is therefore to put the cart before the horse. 2. If doffing the hat were a suitable way of acknowledging another's authority, there would be more to be said for the practice in a private house than in a public building; for it is one thing to recognise a man's authority over you in his own house, and quite another thing to recognise the priests' authority over you in a public assembly. 3. To wear one's hat, or one's overcoat, in a private house, for any length of time, and sitting down, might readily be taken to imply uneasiness and a desire to be going away in a hurry;

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whereas in a public meeting this is not the case, the large area and mixed audience, not to speak of the frequent draughts, giving the place much of an out-door character. 4. It is a matter of convenience to remove the head-dress indoors, both men and women doing so; whereas women are not expected to take off their hats in public assemblies.

It will be found that whatever way this hat question is approached, it ultimately resolves itself into a question between a man's conscience and intelligence and the religious authorities. Whatever may be said about convenience requiring the removal of the hat in a private house, no such excuse can be valid as an argument for its removal immediately upon entering a religious or other public building, nor for its removal, as is the custom in Catholic countries, in the presence of religion out of doors. In England bare-headedness is not enforced by out-door religion, but in the steeplehouse it is made a matter of great importance, as the foregoing narrative sufficiently demonstrates. How are people ever going to do anything in public, who, on entering a public place of assembly, all uncrown themselves? There is not the slightest warrant for such a proceeding either in the Old or New Testament scriptures. The passage previously referred to from Paul, is only concerned with men and women speaking in the church, a proceeding which it has been common for steeplehouse authorities to call "brawling." This passage has also been shown not to apply to hats. The Jews to this day wear their hats in the synagogue. The Mosaic religion was not an arrangement for shutting out heaven and teaching men to put rigmarole in the place of God, but rather an arrangement for reminding them continually of God and of their responsibilities to him as men. The Jews were given clearly to understand that God was "not afar off" but "at hand" to those who put their trust in him and obeyed his law; and that if God was afar off, or in the terrors of Sinai and the plagues of Egypt, it was to those who rejected his law within them and pleased themselves with idols of their own fancy. Nor was the religion of Mahomet an arrangement for keeping God afar off; rather, it too was an arrangement for continually reminding people of his being at hand, and of their responsibilities to him; witness the oft repeated statement in the Koran, "For God is not unmindful of that which ye do." A writer in a recent issue of the *Standard* says: "Moreover in the beginning of Islam, the mosques were used for the meetings of the people. It was in them that, after common prayer, all questions affecting the community, nation, or religion, all questions of peace, war, policy, tactics, &c., were publicly discussed by all, and determined, and that is why the entrance into mosques was forbidden to all but true believers." Mahomet did not teach that mosques

were sacred. It has already been stated more than once in these pages, that Christianity is not a religion, but a life, and that Jesus and his disciples entered freely into the places of public assembly in their day and taught fearlessly, notwithstanding the opposition of those who "loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." The idea, then, of using religion to shut out God, and religious roofs to shut out heaven and quench God in men, must have another origin than this. A certain class of buildings are called "God's house;" in you go, and get turned out for honouring God more than the house; and those who turn you out are called "Christians." So long as this sort of houses and this sort of "Christians" exist, hats must be worn by men inside the houses and on no account removed to please the so-called "Christians." The hat is itself a roof, and by wearing it under a so-called "sacred" roof, the priestly devices for shutting heaven out of men's minds and stealing God away from their hearts are exposed and frustrated. The hat is in slang parlance called a "tile." Slang is often truer than dictionary language, because it speaks out, and is not afraid to go straight to the point without mincing matters. It will therefore be excusable to go a step further, and to say that if you keep your tile on, or rather, don't let anybody frighten you into taking your tile off, you'll not be likely to have a tile loose; for yielding to fear is the great cause of insanity. It is curious also that the word "chapel" (originally applied to mass-houses) has the same derivation as *chapeau*, French for hat, and the common English word "cap," meaning a covering. The religious buildings of today may be aptly termed extinguishers; for to extinguish manhood is their chief business; music, singing, choral festivals, bazaars, entertainments, teas and treats being employed to this end. And if a man try to get inside to contend against this process, he is met on the threshold with an order to disarm. You disarm your adversary when you make him take off his hat. What more will he not do for you? Such a foe is contemptible. He is a mere machine. Hence, if you are a man, and therefore a foe to these unmanning processes, you refuse to be disarmed, and insist upon wearing your hat when and where you choose; and by this apparently trifling act you go far to disenchant the building and disarm the foes of men. The hat question exists, apart altogether from the authors of this book. It exists whenever an intelligent man enters one of those places of assembly which it is the custom ignorantly to call "places of worship." He is then called upon to decide whether he will keep his hat on, or take it off. If he keeps it on, he is asked and probably compelled to take it off, or else to leave the building. Why? That is the whole point. That is the hat question.

Some religious authorities are more tolerant of self-respect



than others. One such case occurred recently in Flushing, on Firstday afternoon, the 26th. of Ninth, 1897, on the occasion of what is called Hospital Sunday, when two bands, fire brigades and friendly societies joined in a procession, and a large company assembled in the Wesleyan chapel. Pickard and Tregelles waited till those had gone in who wished to, and, when the building was full, entered, intending to stand at the back. They were, however, urgently pressed to go up to a seat in the front, just below the pulpit; and, though they wore their hats all through the performance, no complaint was raised or disturbance occasioned.

The hat question has been called a "burning question." It may well be so called; for it burns up the rubbish that now blocks the way of progress. People are in too great a hurry to judge the Hat Crusade on the looking outward method, or according to superficial appearances. They think it means knocking over buildings, parsons and Church of England; and very naturally conclude that such a proceeding would not be successful even if it were desirable. But what the Hat Crusade knocks over is not buildings, persons or institutions, but rotten ideas. Replace dead and rotten ideas by sound, healthy, living ideas, and then let buildings, persons and institutions say and do what they can for themselves. Many people suppose that Quakers are against all music and singing. This is a mistake, which will become more manifest as time goes on. The essential point is, that all public assemblies must be made to admit intelligence, and not allowed to snuff it out.

The people who have the most rooted dislike and aversion to the Hat Crusade are the theorists, at present a very numerous class of people. There is no easy horn-blowing about the Hat Crusade; and this is the reason why they hate it. Horn-blowing is referred to in Stephen's "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," a book which theorists would do well to read, a book written by a man who was almost not a theorist. The theorists would have you preach new doctrines in these buildings, and take off your hat at the door before doing so; or else keep out of them altogether, which is their favourite method of shirking the fight. What do they care for the millions who cannot distinguish between their right hand and their left? But mere words are, and with good reason, not supposed to mean anything nowadays; we have been so long overrun by profession without practice. Actions, however, speak louder than words, and justify words to explain them. The Hat Crusade has been sneered at as a trifle now for five years; but a workman who sees the seed he has sown shooting up under his eyes, is not disheartened by the sneers of the jealous and the blind. The Jews had a tradition about the building of the temple, that there was a certain stone so awkwardly shaped

that the builders could not make it fit anywhere, and cast it on one side as useless. This stone, however, was found to exactly fit the chief corner of the building, and there it was placed. Jesus used this story, and applied it to himself and his teaching, for which the theorists of that day could not find a place. It is also applicable to the Hat Crusade, which is "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence." The theorists try to make it fit in, now here, and now there; but it's no go. At last they lose patience altogether, and cast it aside as useless. But it was not intended for the places they assigned to it; nor were they intended to have the placing of it. Its place is assigned to it by the master builder himself.

END OF VOL. III.

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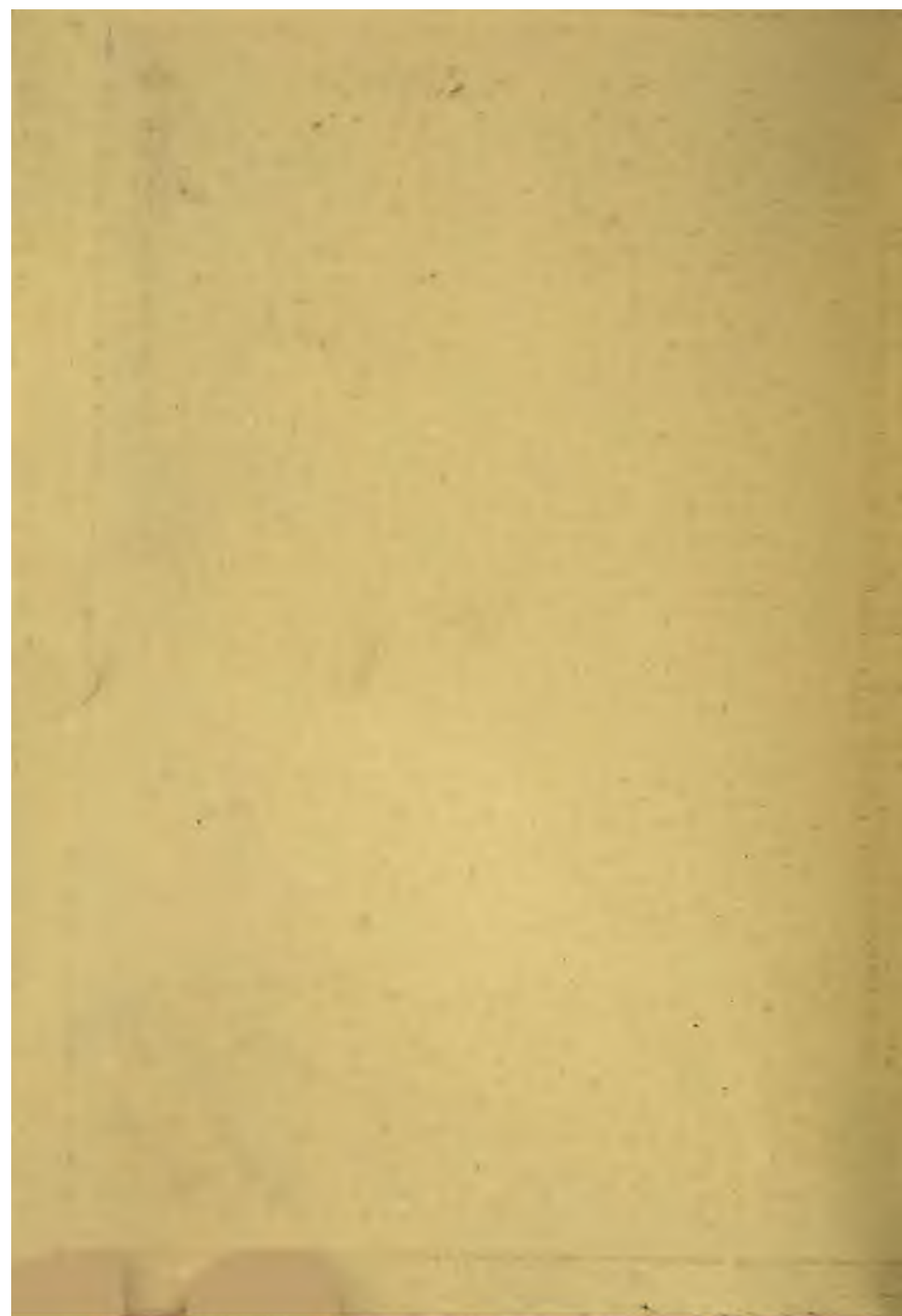
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